The New REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

VOLUME XIV | New York, Saturday, March 23, 1918 | Number 177

Contents

Editorial Notes 215
Lead, Kindly Light!—Cartoon ..... C. R. Weed 217
Leading Editorials
Conciliation Without Compromise 218
Russia's Strategic Retreat 220
The Passing of Petrograd 221
America and Japan 223
General Articles
The Inter-Allied Labor Conference ..... Sidney Webb 225
John Redmond ..... F. H. 227
Wilson Defines Baruch ..... William Hard 229
Morals and the Conduct of States ..... John Dewey 232
Correspondence 234
At the Capitol ..... G. S. 237
After the Play ..... F. H. 238
Books and Things ..... P. L. 239
Reviews of Books
Rebecca West's First Novel ..... Q. K. 240
An Apologia for Nietzsche ..... R. F. A. H. 241

It is necessary again to remind subscribers and news-stand buyers of The New Republic of the difficulties the post office is encountering in the handling of second class mail matter. Every effort is being made to effect the prompt delivery of magazines, but an unprecedented shortage of cars, an over-crowded parcel post, a limited embargo on express, the necessity of using steamship lines as carriers for certain points, and the constant depletion of the department's trained staff, have combined to make delays inevitable. We can only ask again for patience and forbearance.

DURING the winter months the Allies have suffered a number of costly defeats. Their reverses began with the break in the Italian line, were continued by the British setback at Cambrai, and culminated in the final disintegration of Russia under the impact of German political and military aggression. The net results of the period of ill-fortune are sufficiently serious. Germany can now concentrate almost the whole of her military power in the West, and the increased strength of the German forces has obliged the General Staff of the British and French armies to abandon the initiative. During the coming summer they propose to act on the defensive in France. Apparently they will not be able to resume the offensive until American troops reach France in sufficient numbers to bear the brunt of the attack; and the American reinforcements in the required amount cannot be trained, transported, supplied and equipped until the fall of 1919. In the meantime the Germans can organize their penetration of Russia and arrange for abundant future imports of food and raw materials. The British blockade of Germany will be broken, while the submarine attack on the communication of the Allies will continue to embarrass all their operations. As a result, consequently, of the series of reverses the Allies are confronted by the grim prospect of fighting through two more summers and at least one winter under conditions less favorable than those of 1917, before they can seize once again the strategic initiative which must be the route to military victory.

GRAVE as the prospect is, however, the Allied peoples will not hesitate to incur any sufferings and any sacrifices which may still be necessary to obtain a democratic peace. The policy of the German government in respect to Russia has only confirmed the conviction of western democrats as to the necessity of putting an end now to this international marauding, and as long as and in so far as fighting is necessary to teach the Germans the insufferability of what they are doing, the fighting will go on. The increasing burden of this fighting, as well as that of supplying the deficiency of food, raw materials, and man power in France and Great Britain will fall chiefly on the American people. The American government will in the near future be obliged to ask them for more soldiers, more ships, more taxes, more savings, more war products of all kinds and a far profounder

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

dislocation of their peace routine than any which has yet taken place. The sooner the administration announces its decision to enlarge the scale of American war preparation the better it will be. The more complete these preparations are and the more promptly they are started the less likely it is they will ever have to be used.

SUCCESSFUL as the German government has recently been in taking advantage of the mistakes of its opponents and Russian weakness and disintegration, the essential difficulties of its policy of conquest are as formidable as ever. Even successes cannot be bought for nothing and the German government has not as yet paid the price of its Russian policy. It now stands confessed to its own people and to the world as a conquering power, which proposes to take every advantage of Russian weakness and which, if it succeeds, will threaten the independence and security of all other nations. It has added to the number of its enemies, to the tenacity of their resistance and to the military barrier in the way of ultimate success. The increasing resistance might be regarded with equanimity provided the German government could allay the existing causes of discontent among the people of Central Europe, but this its victories are powerless to do. The German and Austrian people will soon see that while the ruling classes will get the benefit of the exploitation of Russia, they themselves will be obliged to pay the costs. The costs will be a long additional period of hunger and deprivation—for it may be the summer of 1919 before food in any quantity will be imported from Russia—an indefinite continuation of the war and the certainty of increasing throughout the world the alarm and the enmity with which German imperialism is already regarded. Unless we are very much mistaken, the result will be a steady disintegration during the spring and summer of German morale. The people of Central Europe will not continue to endure their existing sufferings in order to back up a barefaced policy of conquest. The biggest penalty to the German government of its Russian policy is a necessary abandonment of the pretence that it is fighting a defensive war, and no people in the world will, after the strain of the past four years, continue to fight indefinitely for a manifestly aggressive and piratical purpose.

IF the foregoing estimate of the future power of endurance of the people of Central Europe is true, the German and Austrian governments will realize its truth and act upon it. They cannot actually get away with the spoils of their Russian and Rumanian policy without planning quickly to convert the Russian into a general peace. There are only two ways in which this can be done. One is by a successful military offensive in France. The other is by means of local military and political attacks to pick off the Allies one by one until the remainder are forced to succumb. Of the two alternatives the first is in our opinion too hazardous and will not be tried by the German government save as a last resort. The second is the policy with which they have succeeded in the past and which they are likely to pursue. During the spring and summer we shall probably be watching a sustained effort by Germany to keep its own people quiet by bringing about one separate peace after another. It is this continued peace offensive which is the real danger in the near future. Germany will try to buy off those nations which her armies cannot defeat. She will probably fail, but if she fails it will only be after she has submitted offers which governments with territorial ambitions will find it difficult to resist.

OPINIONS on the justice and expediency of extinguishing enemy property interests are so unanimous as to point to the possibility that new principles are likely to be worked out for the regulation of international property relations. In the normal intercourse of friendly nations it is necessary to observe the principles of freedom of movement, of domicile and of trading rights. When we are again at peace with Germany, we shall permit German merchants to come to this country with their goods, to superintend their sale, to warehouse them, etc. Must we necessarily permit them to own lands, mines, factories, railways, wharves, or shall we consider such ownership a means of "peaceful penetration," facilitating the conquest of our industry by that of Germany in time of peace, and hampering our military preparations in the event of a later dispute? Of course we cannot discriminate permanently against Germany. Consequently the feeling which we are pretty certain to retain that essential instruments of the national production ought not to pass again into German hands, is likely to lead to a movement for a reconsideration of the whole question of the property rights of aliens of foreign residence. In the long run we shall ask ourselves, is it not better for our country to have its tangible sources of wealth in the hands of its own citizens. There is a considerable mass of evidence accumulating that in England and France a similar feeling is gaining headway. If we succeed in establishing a world organization that insures peace, there will remain no good reason for insisting upon nationalization of tangible property. But here as elsewhere unless we are to have internationalism, we are quite sure to have an intensified nationalism after the war.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Lead Kindly Light!

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SEIZURE of the Dutch ships can no doubt be justified under the traditional principles of international law. But in ordinary circumstances England and America would greatly have preferred to get the tonnage they required by an agreement with the Dutch government. Respect for the rights of small nations goes beyond the letter of international law, and if the Dutch, for purely nationalistic reasons, had desired to keep their ships out of the danger zone, we should have hesitated to force them into it. It is not, however, a purely nationalistic reason that governs the policy of the Dutch government, but pressure applied by Germany. The Dutch might be perfectly willing to have their ships turned over to Allied uses, but to consent to this would be to expose themselves to hostile action on the part of Germany. To those who do not bear this condition in mind the action of America and England will appear high-handed. It will appear still more high-handed to the Germans, who by threat of invasion have made it impossible for England and America to settle the matter by an agreement with the Dutch government. The question is essentially an episode in the conflict of wills between the Allies and the Central Powers. The Allied will prevails, and as for the Dutch nation, it is our business to see that its fundamental interest is adequately protected in the provisions for compensation and restoration.

THERE is still reason for believing that the nation is not putting forth its maximum effort to accelerate the construction of ships. Yards that could advantageously set 30,000 men at work are actually employing little more than a third of that number, for the discouraging reason that there are not yet available houses to shelter an enlarged force. When we recall the remarkable records made by our government in the construction of cantonments for our soldiers, we find it difficult to account for its dilatory procedure in the matter of housing for our shipbuilders. Our first requirement is ships, and every delay in getting ships increases the chance that the war will go by default, ending with a peace that settles nothing. It may be said that there are many difficulties that beset shipbuilding in general, and particularly the work of housing the shipbuilders. But what do these difficulties amount to as compared with those that would beset the military operations of our Allies, if we failed to provide for an adequate flow of reinforcements and supplies? Haste in housing plans may mean waste, but what we may lose in this way is infinitesimal as compared with what we shall lose in tonnage. We cannot carry on an effective warfare with ocean tonnage reduced materially below its present volume.

CAN it be true that a wish to be president is keeping Mr. Whitman from doing his best as governor of New York? His political opponents seem to think so. The New York World says he might be an excellent governor "if he could think more about Albany and less about Washington." Yet this asks us to assume something highly improbable, namely, that Mr. Whitman either possesses no scales in which to weigh himself and no convenient door on which a friend could mark his height, or else that he doesn't want himself measured and weighed. He may have, in his most lucid moments he must know that he has, plenty of minor disqualifications for the office of president. All these he might forget, but what even he must find it hard to forget is this fact, conspicuous and unalterable, that for a President of the United States, to take office in troubled times, Mr. Whitman is under weight and under size, a disqualification nothing will ever remove.

Conciliation without Compromise

THE recent Inter-Allied Labor Conference in London is sending a delegation to the United States, headed by M. Camille Huysmans and consisting of one trades-union leader from France, England, Italy and Belgium. M. Huysmans and his associates are coming to this country in order to remove, if possible, the misapprehensions of Mr. Gompers and the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor about the object of the Inter-Allied Conference in proposing a future meeting on neutral territory with a delegation of socialists from the Central Empires. Mr. Gompers refused, in the name of the American Federation of Labor, to participate in the London assembly, because he knew of the proposed inter-belligerent meeting on neutral soil, and he considered any conference with a technical enemy during war as somehow treasonable. The deputation hopes to persuade him and the other American unionists to withdraw the opposition. The visitors will, we trust, obtain the kind of hearing to which their devotion to the cause of the Allies and their high standing in the labor counsels of their own countries entitles them. Every union leader who either sympathizes with the policy of the Inter-Allied Labor Conference, or who has an open mind about it, is under obligation to make his influence felt during this grave crisis in international labor politics.

Elsewhere in this issue Mr. Sidney Webb explains with the utmost lucidity what the recent Inter-Allied Labor Congress in London accomplished, and what it hopes to accomplish by a future conference with the Austrian and German

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

socialists. After four days of deliberation it unanimously agreed upon a statement of war aims of the European democracies, which is published elsewhere, and which will challenge comparison with the British Labor Party's domestic programme as one of the most mature and significant documents of the present crisis. It proposes an uncompromising settlement in that it yields nothing to German militarism, while at the same time it seeks a conciliatory settlement in that it offers to the German people the same security and the same political and economic opportunities which their present enemies hope to obtain. If the war ends with a treaty of peace framed along these lines, the Allies will be unquestionably victorious, Prussianism and other militarism subdued and the future of democracy safeguarded. One has only to compare this programme of allied war aims either with the provisions of the secret treaties or with the official utterances of European statesmen in order to realize the advantage in dealing with the present need of radical international reconstruction which the unofficial statecraft of the labor parties possess over the traditional diplomacy.

But how can this programme be made effective? By what means can the united labor parties of the Allied countries convert their sketch of a new society of nations from a pious opinion into a binding and operating international organization? Apparently they have no chance of doing so through the agency of the existing governments of Western Europe. The statesmen at the head of those governments are bound by the secret and other agreements and by their own prejudices and convictions. They cannot, even if they would, move in the direction of thorough-going internationalism. Should their armies be able to break down the resistance of the German armies, they will be obliged to execute these agreements which are contingent on military victory and which have been framed, not for the purpose of bringing into existence a society of nations, but for that of establishing a new balance of power more favorable to France, the United Kingdom and Italy. The statesmen of the labor parties must look elsewhere for an effective assurance that their programme will be considered, and they are seeking it, as President Wilson has been seeking it, by appealing to democratic public opinion. They are asking for special representation at the peace table, because they do not trust their own governments to write a democratic settlement as the result of a military victory. In the meantime they are holding and proposing conferences in order to reach an agreement among themselves, to direct public attention to their aims and, if possible, to convince the public of the reality of the contribution which they are prepared to make to organize international security and justice.

Their ultimate success, however, depends upon their ability to supplement an agreement among themselves upon war aims by an agreement with the labor parties of Central Europe. The society of nations which they, like President Wilson, are striving to create, must rest on general consent, upon the free and loyal acceptance of its obligations and its underlying principles by the democracies of all countries. The President has been working to build up in Central Europe the needed popular support for a League of Free Nations by distinguishing between the German government and the German people. The French and English labor parties asserted the importance of this distinction in 1915. In their attempt to secure a conference with the German and Austrian socialists they are only acting on the reality of their own and the President's distinction and testing whether it can be put to immediate diplomatic use. They do not propose the conference, as Mr. Gompers seems to believe, for the purpose of compromising or trafficking with the enemy. They hope at best to reach an agreement upon the principle and the method of a League of Free Nations with the German and Austrian socialists, in which case by demonstrating the existence of a vital international democracy they would intensify the dissensions in Germany and increase enormously the momentum of their own propaganda and its value in reaching a democratic peace. But if the perverse attitude of the Central European socialists resulted in a final disagreement, their experiment would still be beneficial rather than harmful to the cause of the Allies. The conclusion would be inevitable (and it is one from which the inter-allied labor parties do not shrink) that the German people must be bled still further before they will listen to reason.

The labor leaders who are sending the deputation to this country in order to confer with American labor are not, consequently, proposing to draw back from military victory, if military victory proves to be the only solution, nor are they proposing to shirk any sacrifices which may be necessary to military victory. They are trying to lay the foundation in public opinion for the new political structure which the democracies of the west consider the most desirable fruit of military victory, but which is not likely to result from it unless they start upon the groundwork during the war. They have reached this conclusion only after many years of discussion and only after a patient consideration of all the alternatives. The American labor leaders are naturally more difficult to convince, because American belligerency is still young. They find it difficult to understand the extent to which in Europe the war has been transformed from a contest of armies

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

into a contest in popular moral endurance. Neither do they understand how far this power of endurance depends upon the guarantee that by continuing to fight for military victory the people will be assured of a democratic peace. But they should listen with open minds to what their fellow workers have to say and they should understand the grave consequences of a refusal to participate in an interbelligerent conference. The absence of the American labor democracy from the proposed gathering would deprive it of any genuinely international character and so condemn it to probable futility.

Finally there is a deeper aspect to these international labor conferences which should appeal as strongly to the American trades-unionist as it does to his European brother. All over the world organized labor has struggled throughout many generations to obtain recognition for itself as a corporate body with needs and abilities which are ignored in the existing state; but until recently it has never made much headway. As a consequence of the war and of the necessity felt by statesmen of earning the loyalty of the wage-earner, it has achieved some small success in asserting its claim for special recognition and representation. The immediate future of this claim, whose vindication is so essential to the political and industrial advance of the laboring class, is staked on the proposed international labor conference. The European labor associations, as organizations distinguished from government and supplementary to it, wish an opportunity of proving their ability to accomplish a task which government, as now organized and directed, seems incapable of accomplishing. They are seeking to formulate terms of peace which will provide a just settlement for the controversies of the present war and which will bring into existence an international protective association against its recurrence. If they succeed they will be helping to win the war in a sense no less real than they are helping to win it by enlisting in the armies and carrying on their labors back of the line. But they will also be doing something for themselves as well as the world. They will have proved by a brilliant and convincing example the statesmanship of the wage-earners and their leaders, which after the war is over will enormously increase their prestige and effective power. The wage-earners of the United States are in even greater need of such an increase in power and prestige than are their fellows abroad, because their domestic enemies are already preparing to take away from them when peace comes any gains which they have made during the war. By opposing the conference which the French, English, Belgian and Italian labor parties wish to call Mr. Gompers and his associates are emasculating this promising effort. They are deserting the workers in this and other countries in the effort to obtain some trustworthy assurance of a future legal and political status more powerful, more responsible and more independent than that which they have won in the past.

Russia's Strategic Retreat

RUSSIA'S military history for two hundred years has borne a character altogether peculiar. Almost invariably the Russian armies have been beaten. They have been beaten by the Swedes and the Poles and the Turks, by the Germans and the French and the British, by the Japanese and now finally by the Central Powers. But they have never been crushed. At Liao Yang, and later at Mukden, the Japanese all but forced the Russians to surrender or to betake themselves to helter skelter flight. Somehow, nevertheless, the Russians managed to re-form. During the retreat from East Prussia, early in the present war, an overwhelming disaster to the Russian armies appeared inevitable. In the end, however, the Russions were found presenting a firm front, which the victorious Germans could not break. Again in the great Galician retreat the Russians seemed fated to final disaster. But the encircling movements of the Germans failed. After all their victories, the Germans were at last compelled to sit down before an unbroken Russian line, to await the uncertain action of political disintegration.

A country whose armies manage always to cohere after defeat is practically invincible. An army that stands up like a stone wall until it is beaten and then surrenders or disintegrates is something definite to deal with. Over such an army it is possible to win the kind of conclusive victory that winds up a war. Russian armies have never thus lent themselves to the enemy's designs. Is this because they have been commanded by generals who have a genius for managing retreats? This is the prevailing view. History has always given this Grand Duke or that credit for extricating the army unbroken from the most desperate situation. But now when we can examine more closely the details of such an operation as the Galician retreat, we can easily satisfy ourselves that the genius of Russian generals is merely a hero-worshipping myth. The Russian private soldiers managed the retreat themselves. With their officers flying in panic before them, their columns still managed to keep in touch. It was the Russian common soldiers themselves who selected the ground on which to make a stand, who utilized every point of vantage to delay the pursuers until slow moving bodies threatened with envelopment could make their escape. Russia's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

armies cohere in defeat because of the inherent courage and endurance of the average Russian soldier. This is the secret of Russia's invincibility.

But Russia has made peace with Germany. No, she has made a strategic retreat in the political field. The Russian revolution made a stand at Brest-Litovsk for a just peace. It was beaten out of one position after another, and now at Moscow it has subscribed to an unjust peace. It has yielded ground, as the Russian armies have yielded ground in almost every campaign they have ever fought. Can the Germans therefore plume themselves on a conclusive victory in the political field? They must have been quite aware that it was not the sense of the All-Russian Council of Soviets that a final peace should be made with the German military autocracy. If they were not aware of this, the subsequent declarations of the revolutionary spokesmen have been sufficiently clear to enlighten them. All that the Germans are assured is that for the present the Russians will not attempt to meet the Germans on the field of battle. But the Russian revolutionary party intend to keep up a war to the end against the political forces that are typified by the German government. They will fight these forces by whatever means come to their hands. And this is not the resolution of a Lenine or other political general, but of the Soviets, the representative organs of the Russian common man. It has behind it all the force and endurance that have made Russian military retreats memorable.

The Germans would have achieved results really worth their while if they could have made peace with a conventionally organized government, such as that of the Tsar was, or that of Korniloff promised to be. From the conventional type of government it is possible to extort territorial concessions that have a chance of standing. Upon such a government it is possible to impose indemnities that have a chance of being paid. After the imposition of a victorious peace the organized government of a defeated country becomes in effect an instrument of the victor. To the good fortune of the Central Powers, Rumania yielded herself before her government broke down. It was therefore possible to make a conclusive peace with her. In Finland there was a provisionally independent government that could be recognized for the purposes of a German peace. The Ukrainian Rada, presided over by an Austrian and kept in power by Austrian arms, lent itself readily to German designs. The All-Russian Council of Soviets by its very nature is incapable of serving as a German agent of pacification. All its authority it derives from the local Soviets, the groups of stubborn peasants and workmen, who cannot fight until they have found a sufficiently favorable terrain, but who have no more taste for German peace and friendship than a Russian soldier on a retreat has for surrender and a German prison.

Formally the Germans have won a peace; practically the Russian revolution has won a breathing space. Germany may call the Baltic Provinces and the other buffer states her own, but she will never rest easy in their possession so long as the looming mass of Great Russia is instinct with revolution. Germany's real task is only begun. Before she can rest secure in her conquests, she must reconstitute Russia. Out of the shattered fragments of the old aristocracy and the conservative middle class parties she must create a government after her own plan, competent to subscribe to a German peace and to force an enraged people to live up to its terms. Here is the line which the Russian revolution is holding, after the strategic retreat of the peace vote of the Soviet. Can the Germans break it? If they do, Russia will indeed be lost to the Allies. But until this line is broken, and a Germanized government firmly established, the real Russia is with us, peace or no peace. And it is our business to support the Russians in their resistance by whatever means, moral or material, are at our command.

The Passing of Petrograd

IN the days when the German cannon could be heard at Paris the French made preparations to remove the seat of government to Bordeaux. But nobody in the world believed that by any conceivable turn of events Paris could finally be deprived of her ancient honor as the capital of the French people. The Germans might have taken the city and razed it to the ground, but Paris would have risen again. Today the German lines are resting in peace within eighty miles of Petrograd, and the Russian revolutionary government is removing to Moscow. Very likely it is a transitory government that is making the change; and there is no evidence that even the revolutionary government is resolved not to return to Petrograd after the Germans have retired from Russian soil. Yet there is a very definite feeling abroad that the great days of Petrograd are done. The city may recover its formal position, but how can it ever again become the real centre of Russian political life? It is not the Germans that threaten to dim the glory of Petrograd, but the revolution.

Petrograd is the symbol of the political system that was created by Peter the Great and destroyed by the revolution. Before the time of Peter Russian political life was barbarous, dispersed. The main functions of what we now know as government were exercised by sporadically controlled local organizations. Such feeble tendencies toward

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

centralization as there were gathered now about Novgorod, now about Moscow, now about Kiev. And this inchoate political system was at frequent intervals ravaged by encroaching alien forces, the Mongols from the southeast, the Turks from the south and southwest, the Poles and Lithuanians from the west and the Swedes from the northwest. Everything was against the establishment of a stable polity after the western model in the vast Russian plains, without natural barriers behind which a peaceful population could be nurtured into greatness, and without means of transportation that could furnish a basis for the solid union of the local groups that did succeed in maintaining themselves. The only possible solution of the problem of Russian unity was the one Peter discovered by happy accident. In order to make Russia a Baltic power, capable of coping with Swedes and Poles, Peter set down his capital in the swamps of Ingermanland, newly wrested from the Swedes, essentially a frontier military base. And therewith Russia entered the stage of western politics and began to draw heavily upon western culture. The encroachments of Sweden and Poland were finally checkmated, while the contemporary decay of Turkish militant energy fortunately relieved Russia from serious encroachments from the south. What was still more important, the establishment of the seat of Russian government in what was virtually alien soil, among Letts and Lithuanians, Finns and Swedes, broke its connection with the disorderly forces that had ebbed and flowed through Russia proper. Petrograd proved to be an excellent strategic point from which both to exert pressure upon general European politics and to crush particularistic tendencies at home. Local risings that might have involved a centrally situated capital spent their whole force before they could even disturb the serenity of Petrograd. Henceforth, whatever intrigues might go on within the government itself, in its relation to the nation it could preserve an unbroken continuity.

Constantinople offers a striking analogy. Like Petrograd, Constantinople was essentially a frontier military base for the empire it governed. The Ottoman government, securely planted at Constantinople, hardly needed to concern itself over provincial unrest. Revolts might spring up, wax great and die down from internal causes; Constantinople had only to administer the coup de grace at her own time. The Ottoman Empire, with its incredible incompetence and fathomless iniquity, could never have survived through the generations if its capital had been established, say, in the heart of Anatolia, in the centre of a vigorous and homogeneous people. Nor could it have played a significant part in international politics. Petrograd and Constantinople alike have always been seats of government in the traditional sense; government having no basis in the consent of the governed, government by a ruling caste for its own benefit. Both cities have been parasitic, drawing to themselves whatever men of ability came to prominence in the provinces, merging them with the ruling caste, infecting them with its ideals. Americans from beyond the Appalachians often bewail the change that comes over their representatives under the skies of Washington. They become integral parts of a governing system that seems remote from the country at large. But with our system of government and our machinery for easy communication, Washington is relatively central, closely bound up with the national life, as compared with Petrograd and Constantinople. Empire and imperial city are antithetical in Russia and Turkey. And that is tantamount to saying that people and government are at opposite poles.

Such a relation between government and people is inconceivable in a democracy. The Bolsheviki, to be sure, profited by it. They had only to possess themselves of Petrograd, and they had overthrown the imperial government; having overthrown the imperial government, they could after a fashion govern the empire, although they were but an insignificant minority. The Bolsheviki recognized, however, that it would be just as easy for the counter-revolution to overthrow them and work the same machinery for controlling the empire. In removing to Moscow the Bolsheviki are giving up their point of strategic control, to merge themselves in the democracy. This may alter the complexion of the revolution, but it is bound to make the revolution more vital and more certain of survival.

The force of tradition may be sufficiently strong to draw even a democratic government back to Petrograd upon the restoration of peace. Or a counter-revolution may be temporarily successful; and in this case, its government will have many of the same compelling reasons for a peripheral capital as the autocracy had. But the restoration of Petrograd can only be temporary. Neither foreign nor domestic influences can permanently control the democratic forces of which the present revolution is only a preliminary manifestation. The Russian people will in the end govern itself, control its own destinies. It cannot forever content itself with a seat of government whose selection was based upon the extreme of anti-democratic principles. Petrograd is excellently adapted geographically for the exertion of pressure upon foreign states, but democratic Russia has no designs against foreign states. Petrograd is ideally situated

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the deploying of autocratic power over Russian soil, but Russia will never again tolerate autocracy. Petrograd is in an excellent position to draw upon the cosmopolitan culture of Europe, but Russia is entering upon an epoch of national culture. Therefore Petrograd is an anachronism. It may remain the formal seat of government, but in that case the central government will lose its actual power to the vital and growing provincial governments. Imperial Petrograd, that dominated Russia like a pale star in the northern sky, is passing.

America and Japan

AMERICA is utterly opposed to the occupation of Eastern Siberia by Japan. False witnesses may testify to a division of American opinion on the subject; they may swear themselves black all through that dissent from Japanese designs is only a Washington policy. The Japanese themselves must be shrewd enough to know that Washington is merely giving expression to a popular feeling that is very intense, very general. America is for free Russia and against autocratic Berlin, and would bitterly resent any act on the part of a friend and ally that seemed to give point to the German insinuation that free Russia has no sincerer support than that which Germany, in pursuance of her selfish interest, is willing to accord.

But Japan wants to go into Siberia. What if American opposition should give her mortal offense and tend to detach her from the Allied cause? It is this fear that gives rise to whatever support the Siberian project has received in America or among the liberals of England and France. To acknowledge it is quite out of keeping with Allied affirmations of confidence in the integrity of Japanese intentions. Can Japan not be counted on to remain loyal unless she is permitted to pursue her own designs, whether these appear politic or impolitic, legitimate or illegitimate to her Allies? For our part, we shall continue to believe that with Japan as with ourselves, the common cause is paramount. But beyond this we believe that Japanese statesmanship is intelligent, and will not out of a sense of national pique swerve from its obligation to protect the permanent interests of the Japanese nation. And it is to the permanent interest of Japan to remain on terms of amity with the nations composing the anti-German alliance, and especially with the United States. This conclusion we base, not upon moral considerations alone, but upon the solid facts of geography and economics.

Let us first glance at the commercial relations between the two countries before they were disturbed by conditions of war. In 1913 America was Japan's best customer, taking from her goods to the value of 184,000,000 yen. China came next, absorbing goods worth 154,000,000 yen. France took 60,000,000 yen, Great Britain, 32,000,000; Italy, 29,000,000; British India, 29,000,000; Germany, only 13,000,000. Japan was also a good customer of ours, taking goods from us worth 122,000,000 yen, as compared with 173,000,000 from British India, 122,000,000 from Great Britain, 68,000,000 from Germany, 65,000,000 from China, 37,000,000 from the Dutch Indies, 24,000,000 from Indo-China, 6,000,000 from France, and 1,000,000 from Italy. In the mercantilistic terms that still pass current among statesmen, the United States and China are the chief factors making for a favorable balance in Japan's trade, although France and Italy range themselves on the same side of the balance. The trade of the Indian Ocean and the trade with Great Britain and Germany make for an unfavorable balance.

But national economic philosophy occupies itself with the qualities of imports and exports as well as with the quantities. One country imports food stuffs, raw materials and other means of production; another imports luxuries and highly finished products. National economics adjudges the major advantage to the former. Laissez-faire economists do indeed deny that the advantage can be allocated in this way, and they may be right. But laissez-faire economics does not dominate the statecraft of either Japan or America. Both nations survey the qualities of imports and exports with great solicitude. Now, from this point of view, the advantage of trade again lies with Japan. What she exports to the United States is mainly silk, 125,000,000 yen out of 184,000,000. Tea is her next largest export, with 8,000,000 yen; miscellaneous manufactures make up most of the rest. All these goods are luxuries, the product of much labor, making only an insignificant drain upon the natural resources of Japan. What Japan imports from the United States is raw cotton, 64,000,000 yen out of a total of 122,000,000; wheat, 9,500,000; machines, 8,500,000; iron plates and tubes, 5,000,000, and for the rest miscellaneous materials of production. In other words, what Japan sends to us enriches our consumption; what we send to Japan enriches her production. We send Japan raw cotton to be worked up into cheap stuffs wherewith to supply the China trade; Japan sends us raw silk to be worked up into products wherewith to display our own wealth to ourselves. Moreover, a considerable fraction of the Japanese silk exports credited to France and Italy are destined ultimately for American consumption. It may be predicted that after the war we shall be of still greater relative importance to the Japanese silk industry.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Europe will not consume much silk, for a while.

The trade of 1913 is interesting chiefly as it foreshadows coming developments. There is no question whatever that a brilliant commercial and industrial future is in store for Japan, if she plays her cards well. She has a great industrious population, easily adaptable to all the requirements of trade and industry. Behind her lies the vast Asiatic mainland, rich in mineral resources, in potential food supplies, in labor power. It has been held back solely by want of enterprise and capital. Japan is rapidly developing the necessary qualities of enterprise. She is accumulating capital, but for the present the rate of accumulation is slow; Japan is poor. America, on the other hand, promises to be for some time the world's chief source of capital. If Japan can draw upon American capital to develop the natural resources of the Asiatic hinterland and to develop her own industry to a point where full advantage can be taken of such resources, her economic future is assured. More and more the products of the West, destined for consumption in China or India, or the islands of the sea, will go to Japan in the shape of raw materials, to be worked up by Japanese industry. More and more the products of the East will reach the world via Japan, after Japanese labor has improved them and increased them in value. A carrying trade of immense proportions will spring up about the shores of Asia and over the Pacific, and Japan can make this trade chiefly her own. Japan can become in the twentieth century Pacific what England became in the nineteenth century Atlantic.

But all this is dependent upon Japan's managing to live in amity with the western world, especially America and England. The essential problem is one of drawing wealth to Eastern Asia by the instrumentality of Japanese commerce and industry. If Eastern Asia were to be made a closed economic system, it would remain poor and backward for generations. And so long as it is poor and backward there is a danger that the profits of developing it will lure the western nations to an imperialistic competition with Japan. If Japan is to achieve the rôle of greatness that geography has marked out for her, she will wisely make haste to develop her industrial and trading wealth. She will pursue policies that disarm suspicion and circumvent any movement in America toward prohibitive duties on imported luxuries or toward the creation of a heavily subsidized American merchant marine in the Pacific. When Japan is older, economically, she may be able to meet discrimination with discrimination. For the present, however, she cannot do this.

Still, would not territorial acquisitions in China and Siberia offer a fair compensation for any commercial losses a resentful western world might inflict upon Japan? Territorial acquisitions have permanent value to a nation only as they improve her strategic position or increase her commerce. Whether the possession of Eastern Siberia would improve Japan's strategic position is, at least, doubtful. A blow aimed at Japan from Vladivostok would be easier to ward off than a blow aimed at Japanese mainland possessions from the Russian hinterland. Eastern Siberia might indeed offer vacant lands for an overflow of Japanese population, but the Japanese are not a people who take naturally to the settlement of vacant lands under a subarctic sky. But suppose Japan actually succeeded in opening a channel for the outflow of population to the mainland, what would be the permanent gain? No modern state has ever thus won relief from overpopulation. Emigration amounts to nothing more than dipping intermittently from a flowing stream.

It is the experience of the west that no relief from general poverty is to be had through emigration, either to alien lands or to settlement colonies. The one possible method of raising the national standard of life consists in the development of commerce and industry. Following this method, England grew rich; so long as she followed this method, Germany, without a settlement colony in the world, gained more rapidly in wealth than any other European nation. By the same method Japan may raise herself to the western level of wealth in one generation, or at most in two. Will she repudiate this method to follow the ways of an imperialism that has brought the western world to the verge of ruin? If she does, she is likely to find America, which might have been her most useful friend, accepting the rôle of her most jealous antagonist, her most dangerous rival.

The New
REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1918, IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA BY THE REPUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC., 421 WEST TWENTY-FIRST STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. HERBERT CROLY, PRESIDENT, ROBERT HALLOWELL, TREASURER.

EDITORS
HERBERT CROLY FRANCIS HACKETT
PHILIP LITTELL ALVIN JOHNSON
GEORGE SOULE—Assistant Editor

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION FIFTY-TWO ISSUES, FOUR DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. SINGLE COPIES TEN CENTS. CANADIAN SUBSCRIPTION FOUR DOLLARS AND FIFTY CENTS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE. FOREIGN SUBSCRIPTIONS FOR COUNTRIES IN THE POSTAL UNION, FIVE DOLLARS PER YEAR IN ADVANCE: REMITTANCE TO BE MADE BY INTERNATIONAL POSTAL MONEY ORDER.

ENTERED AS SECOND CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Inter-Allied Labor Conference

THE conference of Labor and Socialist organizations of the nations in alliance against the Central Empires, which ended on February 23rd its four days' sittings in London, is likely to prove important, alike in its influence in peace negotiations and in its indirect results on European politics. The Conference, speaking in the name of practically all the organized working class of Great Britain, France, Belgium and Italy, with the concurrence of such organizations as exist in Greece and among the Serbians and Rumanians, found it possible to do what the Allied governments had failed to accomplish, namely, to formulate a joint statement of war aims, and that in full detail, without evasion or equivocation. In spite of the much-regretted absence, for one or other reason, of delegates from America and Russia, the Conference was exceptionally representative in character. It had been preceded by six months' discussion in the respective countries of the British Labor party's Memorandum of War Aims, which was universally accepted as a basis. Repeated party conventions in each country had thrashed out differences among the various sections and had formulated, in each case, what may be called a national view. In four days' sessions last week these national views were compared and combined in polyglot committees, with endless pains to adjust divergences and to discover the greatest common measure among those who realized their alliance in a common cause. It is a remarkable testimony to the spirit that animated the whole Conference that, from first to last, no nation cast its voice against what proved to be the consensus of opinion, no set division was ever claimed and no formal vote was required. Individual dissentients there naturally were, but these on no occasion amounted to as many as half a dozen. Yet the document thus indorsed with such impressive unanimity—henceforth the authoritative Joint Statement of the War Aims of the Democracies of Western Europe, and the conditions on which they will make peace—fills a whole page of the Times of February 25th, faces every issue, goes elaborately into detail, grapples not only with territorial adjustments all the world over, but also with the economic and administrative problems of the day after peace is proclaimed, and translates the broad outlines of President Wilson's last speech into a program of European democracy. No such impressive proof of the essential solidarity and conscious unity of the working class organizations of Western Europe has ever been afforded.

It is this unity in a Joint Statement of War Aims that gives at the present juncture the Conference and its outcome no little importance. The Conference has made a solemn appeal across the battle fronts to the Labor and Socialist organizations of the Central Empires, calling on them similarly to formulate, independently of their governments, the war aims for which they feel themselves to be fighting. They are asked to consider what it is that the Allied democracies have formulated and to define precisely what there is about which the several peoples themselves disagree. When this has been done and the rival war aims of the contesting peoples are definitely in contrast, the moment will have come—perhaps within two or three months—for a renewed demand by the Labor and Socialist organizations of all belligerent countries, for a full meeting of the International Congress, not necessarily at Stockholm, but preferably in Switzerland. By that time the governments may possibly be not altogether unwilling to allow such a Congress to take place; and may conceivably not find it altogether easy to refuse to the representatives of labor the passports that have already been granted on more than one occasion to other interests. There are, indeed, more things unlikely in this world than that—in the apparent impossibility of either side attaining within the near future any decisive military success on the western front, and the failure of each belligerent to reduce the other by starvation—the peoples will somehow take the matter out of the hands of the governments. And the governments, unable to get out of the deadlock, may presently not be unwilling, without committing themselves in any way, to let the Labor and Socialist organizations try their hands. The leaders of working class opinion in England and France are under no illusions about the relative impotence of trade unions and socialist societies in all countries to withstand the will of governments appealing to national loyalty and patriotism. But they believe that, not on one side only, such genuine divergences as exist between the peoples are widened and deepened by unavowed designs of aggression entertained by particular sections, aspirations after extensions of territory, and especially projects for economic and financial exploitation, taking the form of an "economic war after the war." It may well prove to be—so organized labor asserts—that it is very largely these unavowed "imperialistic" designs that are now responsible for the prolongation of the war. If the Congress meets there will be several days of heated debate and much plain speaking, during which feeling will run high. But

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

presently the committees will be appointed and will get to work at a detailed examination of all the divergences. Who knows whether, in such a detailed examination, under the pressure of four years of inconclusive warfare, the committees of the Congress might not discover that the representatives of labor in each nation, determined in their respective patriotisms though they be, were able to achieve in quiet talk at Lucerne or Lausanne, what the statesmen fail to accomplish by shouting at each other across the battlefronts? If the International Congress came to any substantial agreement the war would have to stop. If, on the other hand, the Congress, as many predict, broke irreconcilably asunder, the respective governments would each have got its "second wind" in a renewal of support from a working class convinced that nothing remained but to fight the quarrel out to the bitter end. This, at any rate, is the case for an early assembly of an International Labor and Socialist Congress, to which no small volume of moderate opinion in the Allied nations is now rallying.

It is not easy to summarize adequately the Joint Statement of War Aims that will henceforth stand as the terms of peace suggested by the democracies of western Europe. Newspaper reports invariably give prominence to the proposed territorial adjustments—the evacuation of the occupied territories; the complete restoration and indemnification of Belgium; the formal disannexation and then the renewed consultation of Alsace and Lorraine; the rational rearrangement of the Balkans on the basis of racial autonomy and federal union; untrammeled "self-determination" by the Poles, the Czecho-Slovaks and the Jugo-Slavs; a Zionist Palestine; the neutralization of the Dardanelles and the relegation of Armenia, Mesopotamia and Arabia to the guardianship of the League of Nations, whilst the Turkish Empire is retained for Constantinople and Asia Minor, and the reservation of the conquered colonies for a special consideration in which exchanges or other compensation would have free play, but in which all peoples would be assured of the policy of the Open Door, without possibility of exclusion from raw materials, markets or their share of economic expansion. Valuable as are the detailed elaborations of these territorial adjustments which the Inter-Allied Labor Conference has supplied, they are altogether secondary in importance to the two other principal proposals of the lengthy document. The basis of the whole settlement is made the League of Nations, as to which the Conference accepted with a wholeheartedness, a sincerity and a determination of which it is impossible to convey adequate impression, the full scope of President Wilson's suggestion. The Supernational Authority, as the Fabian Society termed it (International Government, by L. S. Woolf); the League of Nations, as it is called in America, or the Society of Nations, as the French expressively phrase it, is worked out by the Inter-Allied Conference in some detail, with International High Court, Council of Mediation and International Legislature; and the establishment of this Supernational Authority is imperatively insisted on, not in the distant future, but in the treaty of peace itself. It is, indeed, to the working of this authority, the very day after peace is secured, that organized labor looks for the real security of Europe. It is, so it is urged, only under its protection and subject to its control that the world can be made safe for democracy. This is a weighty declaration now to go reverberating throughout Europe. But we have to remember that, so far, no European government, not even that of the United Kingdom, has explicitly accepted President Wilson's proposal under this head. Organized labor, so far as the Entente nations are concerned, has here gone right forward, in advance of all the governments, and has not only declared itself wholly with President Wilson, but has also insisted, very emphatically, on the establishment of the League of Nations being made the cornerstone of the world's peace that is to be. It will be interesting to see how long Mr. Lloyd George and M. Clemenceau can withstand this pressure.

Perhaps the reason for the hesitancy with which President Wilson's proposal has been received by the other Entente governments finds explanation in the remaining portion of the Joint War Aims now formulated by the Inter-Allied Labor Conference. It is there, in three lengthy sections on economic issues, that we find revealed—it may be—one of the obstacles to peace. Organized labor is emphatic in its refusal to allow any "economic war after the war"; in its demand for equal opportunities of manufacture and commerce for all peoples; in its denunciation of fiscal protection and economic aggression of all sorts, especially in the form of hostile discrimination against particular nations or against foreigners generally; and in its resolute determination to prevent any combination of militarism with capitalist exploitation. The Conference was equally emphatic in repudiating the mere "free trade" of "laissez faire," and in demanding the most energetic government action in the systematic development of each nation's resources for the common good, in the universal application of the principle of factory legislation for the effective maintenance in each country of its standard of life. It was not forgotten at the Conference that, even in the Treaty of Vienna in 1815, room was found for international agreement on the abolition of the slave trade. It was forcibly demanded that, in the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

forthcoming world treaty, the fundamental principles of the economic protection of the standard of life should be similarly enacted. More remarkable still, the Conference casts its eyes forward to the coming world shortage alike of foodstuffs and of raw materials, and demands that these should not be left to be scrambled for by the forces of supply and demand, with the result of producing local famines; but that the equitable distribution of each country's exportable surpluses of scarce commodities should be insured, not according to wealth, but according to need, as one of the first tasks of the League of Nations. Within each nation, too, the government must insure a like distribution among all its people according not to their means, but to their several needs, incidentally taking measures actually to prevent the occurrences of widespread unemployment according to a scheme formulated with some precision.

It has been suggested with some authority that it is these economic implications of a League of Nations that prevent the European governments from explicitly adopting President Wilson's programme. Half the Cabinet of Mr. Lloyd George, perhaps all the Cabinet of M. Clemenceau, cling to a diametrically opposite conception. There are influential sections in their countries which avowedly contemplate a state of economic and commercial conflict after the war, in which their respective nations will do their very utmost to exclude foreign goods, withhold indispensable materials from those whom they consider hostile buyers, impose discriminatory duties on imports and exports, monopolize the exploitation of dependencies for their own peoples, and generally carry on, with the weapons of finance, taxation and trade, the war which will have been put an end to in the field. Organized Labor in western Europe is keenly alive to this danger, and is determined to prevent any such policy. Organized Labor believes that it is very largely these financial and commercial intrigues that are keeping the peoples apart—believes, at any rate, that it is very largely these unavowed projects and plans of aggression which are preventing the British and French governments from whole-heartedly adopting President Wilson's proposal of a League of Nations, with the existence of which any such projects would be inconsistent.

A final word may be added: The greatest defect of the Conference was the absence of Russian representatives on the one hand and of American on the other. The Russians were arbitrarily prevented from attending by the Bolshevik government, which refused to recognize a Conference organized according to the outworn nationalistic divisions of bourgeois states! For the absence of American representation, which the whole Conference deplored, there was no such explanation. Every attempt had been made to secure the presence of representatives of the American Federation of Labor, and nothing grieved the Conference more than the telegram from Mr. Gompers, the publication of which in the press was accompanied by American aspersions on the delegates to the Conference as assembling under German inspiration, for the betrayal of the interests of their respective countries. Mr. Gompers is clearly laboring under misapprehensions as to the character of the several labor and Socialist organizations, not only of the Continental nations, but also of Great Britain. He has evidently been made the victim of incorrect information, colored by personal misrepresentations. It is of so much importance to the cause of the Allies—no less to the governments than to organized labor in the several countries—that these misunderstandings should be removed and complete confidence restored betwen the British Labor party and the American Federation of Labor, that the Conference unanimously resolved to make this the subject of a special and immediate deputation to the United States, in which M. Camille Huysmans, the universally trusted Belgian Secretary to the International Socialist Bureau, will be accompanied by a trade union leader from England, France, Italy and Belgium, respectively. There must be henceforth no International Labor Congress in which the American Federation of Labor does not take its part.

London. SIDNEY WEBB.

John Redmond

A PUBLIC style is not of itself a title to fame, but one cannot help recalling style in thinking of John Redmond. He was, in a large sense, a man with style. He was the kind of speaker who brought to public address something more than the weight of argument. He gave argument the full force of personality. It was not an aroused and poignant personality, it had none of the cadaverous intensity of an Irish leader like Michael Davitt, none of the blue steel of Parnell, but it was serious and responsible, it had a peculiar depth of dignity. Only an Irishman, perhaps, who knew well what it was to listen to excruciating national orators could entirely enjoy the grave and melodious utterance of John Redmond. He had a proud, imperious profile, the profile of a senator, and there was something lofty and senatorial in the public style he matured. He spoke fastidiously. He never condescended to slang or the platform humor which is the spiritual counterpart of slang, and he never came much nearer comedy than sarcasm. Yet the organ-tone in which he spoke did not belie his

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

seriousness, his marshalling intelligence, his built-up and fortified convictions, his formidable honesty. The style truly became the character.

The great proof of Redmond's character was, of course, the leadership of the Irish Parliamentary Party since 1900. Those on the inside know what this leadership required, but any American may fairly surmise that the management of eighty nationalists in the British parliament was in no sense a sinecure. Even eighty nationalists do not necessarily agree. The main body of nationalists had deposed their great captain Parnell just ten years before, and Redmond himself had led the little minority that took Parnellism as their Alsace-Lorraine. Not until the Boer war was the futility of this division acknowledged and a reconciliation put through. There were centrifugal forces in the party even then, T. M. Healy and William O'Brien representing them, but it was not long before Healy and O'Brien were safely segregated and the rest of the party effectively organized. The interminable Liberal regime soon after the Boer war must have had a good deal to do with Redmond's security. With the introduction of a new home rule bill he was indispensable. His party settled into the harness and he tooled them easily. But the very ease with which he was acknowledged "leader of the Irish race at home and abroad" disguised the realities of Irish political feeling, as distinguished from those realities of which he was master, Irish party organization.

During the decade that followed the death of Parnell in 1891 the youth of Ireland received about the same inspiration from the Irish Parliamentary Party that a young American received from the regular Republicans since 1908. Even less. The majority that had deposed Parnell at the instance of Gladstone and the nonconformists could gain nothing from the weakened Liberals. In any case they fell to quarrelling among themselves. There was so little inspiration that young national life flowed away from politics, flowed into the Gaelic language movement and the self-help movement, the latter covering everything from the passive resistance of early Sinn Fein to the self-help of the literary theatre and national letters and the non-political self-help of agricultural cooperation. All these activities seemed rather unimportant to the men at Westminster. No member of parliament got it into his head that the energy of the nation was being seriously diverted from constitutional interests. The deadly internecine warfare of Healyites and O'Brienites and Dillonites and Redmondites monopolized their energy, and they sacrificed the young idea.

A fighting captain like Parnell would have arrested this. The clash of his steel would have stirred young Irish blood. But when John Redmond became leader of the united party the constitutional movement did not become a national inspiration for young Ireland. Redmond was the leader of a party, not the leader of a people.

To put home rule on the statute books was no ignoble destiny for an Irish parliamentarian. It meant that he had resisted every English attempt to substitute a council for a parliament, had kept the party free from those obligations which are incurred through taking personal favors, had retained intact and unanimous the demand of the voters outside Orange Ulster for a measure of national self-government. Horace Plunkett was content with the Union and blandly minimized home rule. His position in this respect gave an ugly tincture to the cooperative movement. Lord Dunraven and other rectified junkers tried hard to win the landlords to the people, and wanted the people to give up their hopes for the sake of achieving this amiable object. The northern Unionists remained adamant. In spite of these subversive and corrosive forces, Redmond held to his principle and drove ahead. The fact that home rule won, even on paper, was a gigantic parliamentary achievement. It meant that an empire had recognized a nationalism, that a victim of might had received a measure of formal restitution.

But it was only on paper, and there Redmond had failed. A man of legal mind, he had been content to throw the onus of carrying home rule on the British government. He had left the sources of popular opinion to take care of themselves. In this he proved himself the parliamentarian as against the popular leader, the man of an established order as against the creator, the man of decrees as against the man of positive will.

This was the difference between Redmond and Parnell. Parnell knew that his whole strength lay in focussing the will of Ireland, and he organized that will at the source. When he spoke to England, Ireland spoke to England, and when England rejected him England rejected a whole people. At times Parnell was guilty of neglecting his duty, and at times he treated his party like dogs. But what held the party together was a leadership that had the people back of it, that estimated with ruthless clarity the sovereign rights of the people and asserted those rights regardless of every solemn and sacred British pretension. What had Parnell to fear from England? He knew the moral pretensions of the British empire as well as any one, but he had an eye for facts, he saw perfectly clearly the wretched state of the Irish people, the economic impossibility of landlordism, the fatuity of governing Ireland from Westminster, the unutilized solidarity of Ireland. He made Ireland solid. He

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cared nothing for the moral hospitality of Gladstone, the righteousness that sanctioned coercion quite as readily as amelioration. The established British order meant nothing to him. He strove to get Ireland back of him, and then he was able to talk constitutionality to the British House of Commons.

With this characteristic, Ulster could never have deterred Parnell. There is no doubt in my mind that long before Sir Edward Carson got his rifles from Germany Parnell would have carried the war into Orange Ulster and made the rest of Ireland masters at home. Parnell would have gone through Edward Carson as steel goes through paper. He would have grappled with the real Orangeman where he lives. The fate of Ireland would not have been left to meddlesome duchesses, retired army colonels, junkers in the defeated House of Lords, political climbers like F. E. Smith who happened to be in the opposition, the " to-hell-with-the pope " idealists, the Belfast chamber of commerce. The people of Ireland would have been made completely and dangerously alive to their liberties during those years that Sir Edward Carson was playing the game of British toryism and Northcliffe irresponsibility in Ireland. And there would have been an answer to the Ulster banks in the south of Ireland, to the Ulster manufacturer and the British manufacturer, which Liberal England and Unionist Ireland would equally clearly have understood.

Had John Redmond given a free channel to Irish popular will, he might have seen home rule established long before he died, and fathered the first Irish parliament. The real reason for lamening this is the present diffusion of Irish purpose. Rebellion is sometimes an attractive escape from life, but Parnell understood that the best place to utilize the rebellious impulse was inside the British constitution, and nothing but his downfall would have driven young Irishmen to Sinn Fein. It is the tragedy of John Redmond's career that he allowed constitutionalism to impose on him, to dictate his method, to hamper his will. He was, for an Irish leader, prematurely conservative. A man of courage and faith and rectitude, he made the one mistake of an agitator. He accepted the established code before the order he strove for was established. F. H.

Wilson Defines Baruch

THE President's letter reorganizing the War Industries Board and appointing Mr. Baruch to be chairman of it is a splendid document; because it makes a lot of things clear that were not clear before at all. Incidentally it makes Mr. Baruch into a really very important administrative personage.

The last sentence of it says that Mr. Baruch is to be " the *general eye* of the Supply Departments in industry." The words " Supply Departments " must include all branches of the War Department, of the Navy Department, and of the Shipping Board, engaged in purchasing supplies of any sort. Mr. Baruch is to be their " general eye." Already the more shameless of the wags of Washington are saluting him on the streets as " General I, Bernard M. Baruch." And, besides being a " general eye " for the Supply Departments, Mr. Baruch is to be a sort of umpire between them in certain matters. And, again, and further, in certain other matters, he is to be a link between the Food Administration and the Fuel Administration and the Railway Administration and the Federal Trade Commission and the Tariff Commission and the War Trade Board. In short, he is to be our greatest common coordinator.

The President's view of " coordination " is remarkably like that of other people. He detests it and does it. In his letter of January 11th to Senator Chamberlain, in the course of an argument against the idea of a " Ministry of Munitions," he said:

" I sincerely hope no such re-coordination will be attempted. I have had in the last few months a great deal of experience coordinating things, and upon every fresh coordination delay inevitably results, and not only delay, but all sorts of cross-currents of demoralization, which are very serious impediments to the effective conduct of business."

Having thus expressed the natural disgust which everybody feels for " coordination," he then naturally and delightfully ended up his communication to Senator Chamberlain by saying that one of the strong reasons against the creation of a Ministry of Munitions is that it would " embarrass the processes of coordination upon which I have expended a great deal of pains *and which I believe are more and more rapidly yielding us the results we desire.*"

" Coordination " is a vision which the thirsty administrator curses for a mirage and toward which he nevertheless forever presses on.

Since January 11th we have seen two great strokes of fresh " coordination." The first was the appointment of General Pierce to be " Director of Purchases " within the War Department; and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the second is the appointment of Mr. Baruch to be chairman of the War Industries Board, with powers and duties much more definite and much more extensive than those of his predecessors, Mr. Scott and Mr. Willard.

To begin with, Mr. Baruch is a real chairman. He is not one of these "primus inter pares" or "pass the buck" chairmen. He is a responsible, executive chairman. It is among his powers and it is among his duties to lay down the policy of the Board; and the other members of the Board are enjoined by the President to follow it. The President expressly says:

"The ultimate decision of all questions should rest always with the chairman."

This change is a great change, and surely a most beneficial one. The correspondence of the New Republic from Washington has detailed the bad consequences which were sure to flow, and which did flow, from allowing an administrative department to consist of a considerable number of equal heads. The manifest wrongness of such an arrangement is now admitted. Hereafter the War Industries Board will have but one head; and Mr. Baruch, along with the glory of his title, will have the full responsibility.

In this responsibility there is just one gap; and it is a highly proper one. The War Industries Board deals with certain prices, the prices of certain basic commodities such as steel and copper and aluminum and tungsten; but Mr. Baruch will not fix these prices by himself. The President says that with the chairman of the War Industries Board should rest the ultimate decision of all questions "except the determination of prices." For prices there is to be a committee. It will include Mr. Baruch and certain other members of the War Industries Board, and it will include also the Fuel Administrator and the chairman of the Federal Trade Commission and the chairman of the Tariff Commission. Mr. Baruch, in the determination of prices, is to be not merely advised, but "governed" by this committee.

Here, surely, is plain common sense. A perfectly definite Prices Committee is definitely created. And, clearly, the work to be done is properly work for a committee rather than for an individual. It does not need to be polished off, day by day, minute by minute. It can be published at intervals after full consideration. And it is not so much administrative, after all, as quasi-legislative. It is a thing for the common consent of a group. And it is so ordered.

This matter aside, the powers and duties mentioned in the President's letter are ultimately the powers and duties simply of Mr. Baruch. And they are, principally, three.

First: "The making of purchases for the Allies." *But not for the United States government.* Some of the headlines in the newspapers have been too optimistic. They have said: "American War Industries Unified." Such headlines have been appearing ever since the war began, with each new reorganization at Washington. They have always been premature. They are premature now. Mr. Baruch will have no more power over the actual contracts made by the War Department or by the Navy Department or by the Shipping Board's Emergency Fleet Corporation than Mr. Scott had or Mr. Willard. In fact, in certain ways, he will have less.

The President's letter seems to mark the end of any ambition that may ever have been cherished by the War Industries Board to become the United States government's Central Buyer. The President goes so far as to say, specifically, that it is one of Mr. Baruch's "duties" to "let alone what is being successfully done and interfere as little as possible with the present normal processes of purchase and delivery in the several departments." Seldom is a mandate couched in franker terms. And, even if Mr. Baruch should conclude that General Goethals, for instance, is a miserable failure at buying shoe laces (which apparently is far from being the case), and even if he should be able to impress a sense of failure upon General Goethals (which is not exactly likely), the utmost of his powers and duties in such circumstances would be "to guide and assist wherever the need for guidance and assistance may be revealed." One is reasonably safe in surmising that many of Mr. Baruch's tasks will beckon to him a more alluring finger than that of "guiding" General Goethals.

No, Mr. Baruch will not be central buyer for the United States government in any sense which will at all diminish the present importance of the buyers in the War Department, the Navy Department and the Emergency Fleet Corporation. As a central buyer, as a direct purchaser, as a genuine day-by-day O. K.'er of contracts, Mr. Baruch's powers and duties will begin and end with his services to the Allies.

His next power and duty is in the matter of "priorities." It is a very great power and duty indeed. Mr. Baruch becomes our central priorities director and, therefore, in the end, may well become our central distributor of basic commodities.

For let us consider the case of any basic commodity. Let it be chrome-steel, which is a most essential basic commodity.

If there is a conflict between the War Department and the Navy Department and the Emergency Fleet Corporation, or between any two of them, for a certain supply of chrome-steel, Mr.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Baruch is authorized to settle it. He is authorized to issue "priority orders" assigning to the War Department and to the Navy Department and to the Emergency Fleet Corporation their respective "proportions" of chrome-steel. In so doing he is authorized to issue "priority orders" of *production* and "priority orders" of *delivery*. That is, he is authorized to issue "priority orders" telling the manufacturer of chrome-steel to *produce* such-and-such quantities of chrome-steel at such-and-such dates for such-and-such government departments. And he is authorized to issue "priority orders" entitling the manufacturer of chrome-steel to have chrome *delivered* to him for use in the making of his product.

But suppose, as is probable, that there is then a shortage of chrome-steel for ordinary non-war uses. The price of steel, basically, has been fixed. A man who needs chrome-steel particularly badly cannot get into the market and bid it away from a man who needs it less badly. Bidding, legally, has stopped. All the "fixed" prices of basic commodities are for the United States government, the Allies and the general public alike. How, then, is it to be decided how much chrome-steel shall go to A and how much to B? Will not Mr. Baruch be led on, just as Mr. Hoover is led on, to a greater and greater control over *distribution?* Will he not be obliged, directly or indirectly, to decide the conflict between A and B, just as he is obliged to decide the conflict between the government departments? Will he not end by becoming a beneficent "autocrat" in many non-edible necessaries, thus pleasing Mr. Hoover by drawing Senator Reed's attention occasionally away from our present "autocracy of the breakfast table?"

In any case, Mr. Baruch's "autocracy" will be exercised with the "advice" of a committee. When Mr. Baruch is determining his "priorities" of "delivery," he is to be "assisted" not only by the "present priorities organization" of the War Industries Board, but by "official representatives of the Food Administration, the Fuel Administration, the Railway Administration, the Shipping Board and the War Trade Board."

Here we see a certain step toward the "Grand Priorities Board," foreshadowed in the pages of the New Republic many months ago. To make that Board then was difficult. To make it now is difficult. The difficulty now is precisely what it was then. The difference is that the President is now taking a closer and keener interest in administration. Whatever he looks at, really looks at, he illumines. He has now begun to do a great deal of looking. And we shall see further illuminations of great brilliance.

Mr. Baruch's committee on "Priorities," one must remember, is very different from his committee on "prices," not only in composition, but in authority. Mr. Baruch is to be "governed" by his committee on "prices," but he is to be merely "assisted" by his committee on "Priorities." The "ultimate decision" will rest with him. He will be a genuine daily administrator of "Priorities," just as he will be a genuine daily administrator of "Purchases for the Allies." Both tasks are plainly administrative tasks; and they should therefore be committed to an individual; and we find them so committed.

Mr. Baruch will enjoy them. He has two qualities highly desirable in an administrator. He has courage and he has quickness. One needs courage and quickness in "the Street." Mr. Baruch had them there when he was, as he himself describes it, a "speculator," a "speculator working on hard facts." He never forgets the "hard facts." And he has those qualities in Washington. He is not afraid of action, and he is not afraid of immediate action.

And then he has a third quality which happens to fit him most fortunately for his third power and duty. He has a passion for getting people together to agree on a "proposition" and to "put it through." And his third power and duty will be nothing but agreements on "propositions." It is not administrative at all. It is the power and duty of being that "general eye."

Mr. Baruch is commissioned by the President to "anticipate the prospective needs of the several Supply Departments of the government" and, "if necessary," to labor at the "creation of new facilities" and at the "disclosing" and at the "opening up" of "new sources of supply." For instance, if there should turn out to be a shortage of chrome-ore for the ordinary non-war uses, and if there should turn out to be any "new sources" of chrome-ore in the United States, Mr. Baruch must try to "open them up."

But Mr. Baruch cannot subsidize a chrome-ore mine, nor can he give a contract for chrome-ore to any prospective developer of a chrome-ore mine. He must assemble the people who have the mine, and the people who can finance the mine, and the people who can use the ore, and the governmental people who can give technical assistance, and the governmental people who can give financial assistance, if any, and he must urge, induce, cajole, dragoon and hypnotize them into getting together to promote the chrome-ore industry.

Mr. Baruch will be delighted. It is like asking Dickens's Fat Boy to help save his country by going to sleep. Mr. Baruch will sell the chrome-ore idea to anybody not utterly indifferent to adventure, romance, personal patriotism, personal honest

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

profits, the vision of a United States transformed into a complete self-contained economic unit, the vision of a Germany hurled from the pinnacle of world-power into the abyss of helplessness by the blossoming of the chrome-ore business on American soil, and the vision of individual service to Woodrow Wilson the Man, all portrayed in five minutes.

Such are the commissions given to Mr. Baruch and to the War Industries Board and to the Prices Committee and to the Priorities Committee by the President's letter. It means a much clearer defining of powers and duties and a much clearer locating of responsibilities. It indicates that the President would be inclined to make genuine use of the Overman bill. And will Congress pretend it is in a position to act intelligently and promptly, from time to time, on such administrative questions as: "Shall the power of developing chrome-ore mines be centred in Mr. Baruch's hands now or in those of Mr. Lane, Secretary of the Interior?"

Such questions in war-time might well have a different answer on Monday from the answer appropriate on Saturday. And now that the President is really looking at administration, it is time for Congress to empower him to make his looking effective from day to day, and even from hour to hour.

WILLIAM HARD.

Morals and the Conduct of States

IN his recent article on the legal status of war, Mr. Levinson pointed out that according to the older theory of personal relations and the still prevailing theory of national relations, lower interests, material and mundane affairs, may be discussed and adjudicated, while conflicts in higher interests, ideal and spiritual affairs, must be settled by armed force in duel or war. Swift himself never conceived such irony. Comment or amplification can only detract from the completeness of the picture of a world morally upside down. Mr. Levinson's further suggestion of some supernational organization based upon a preliminary outlawing of war suggests, however, a question of morals which may well be discussed. What is the cause of the present separation of private and public morals? What will be the moral consequences of an assimilation of national and private codes to each other?

Lamentations as to the gulf which divides the working ethical principles of nations from those animating decent individuals are copious. But they express the pious rather than the efficacious wish of those who indulge in them. They overlook the central fact that morals are relative to social organization. Individuals have to be moral because they can be. They can be because they are partakers in modes of associated life which confer powers and impose responsibilities upon them. States are non-moral in their activities just because of the absence of an inclusive society which defines and establishes rights. Hence they are left to their own devices, secret and violent if need is deemed imminent, in judging and asserting their rights and obligations. The distance which separates the code of intrigue and conquest permissible to nations from the code exacted of persons measures the significance for morals of social organization. The nations exist with respect to one another in what the older writers called a state of nature, not in a social or political state.

The not infrequent saying that international law expresses not true but only moral law is a striking indication of the widespread absence of scientific understanding of morals. The actual fact is that until nations are bound together by the law of a social order there cannot be any truly moral obligations existing among them. The attempt on the part of a particular nation to conceive of its relations with other nations in genuinely moral terms may be a source of weakness. The bald enunciation of any such position as this is, very properly, shocking. The frank acceptance of the double standard of conduct on the part of Germany has seemed to other nations to be an example of that abolition of all morality commonly known as Machiavellianism. But this attitude of abhorrence is effective only in the degree in which it marks an aspiration for the establishment of a social order among nations wherever moral relations may obtain. The moral deadliness of the assertion of a "higher" morality for a nation lies in its cynical contempt for the possibility of a society of nations where moral regulations would exist. Conversely, if the conception of a federated concert of nations obtains more widely and ardently in America than elsewhere it is not because we are so much more moral than others that we can conceive of a higher social state; it is rather that being more highly socialized we can conceive of a new morality.

The plea that nations *ought* to regulate themselves by the moral code which obtains among individuals is likely to degenerate into a sentimentalism which projects action on the base of wishes instead of facts. It escapes this sentimentalism only as it is a symptom of a discontent with the present social order which will momentarily express itself in a demand for a new social organization. To indulge in vituperations at the wickedness of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

war and in asseverations of the obligations of states to act upon the basis of the most enlightened code is merely to permit one's self a Pharisaic luxury—unless one is willing to fight for the establishment of a social organization which will make moral responsibilities and regulations a fact.

We are still incredibly subjectivistic in our moral ideas. The common assumption of the Protestant world is that men are gifted as individuals with conscience and that this conscience brings into existence acts and social relations which may approximate its high dictates. So far as anything objective, anything external to the individual is recognized it is usually something supernatural, God or some of those mitigated substitutes for theological supernaturalism which modern thought calls transcendental absolutes and values. A pacifist clergyman in California recently proclaimed his supreme right to follow not only for himself but for propaganda among others the dictates of his own conscience even when they brought him into conflict with the law of the land: his right to do it not only in the sense of willingness to stand the penalties which would follow, but in the sense that the state had no right to inflict any penalties if he chose to obey what his conscience told him was the law of God. He doubtless offended the loyalty of thousands of his fellow citizens. It may be doubted how many of them recognized that he was asserting the essence of moral anarchy, by which I mean a course which would not only lead to practical anarchy but to a destruction of all moral distinctions whatever. For "conscience," that is the aggregate of the moral sentiments and ideas of man, is not the author and judge of social institutions, but the product and reflex of the latter. They are functions of social organization. They reflect criticism of the existing social order as well as approval of it. But in this capacity they are heralds of a changed social order. They are significant only as they become the pivots about which turn active efforts for the reconstruction of the social order. The notion that it is possible to get bodies of men to act in accord with finer moral sentiments while the general scheme of social organization remains the same is not only futile, it is a mark of the subtlest form of conceit, moral egotism.

If only there were a general recognition of the dependence of moral control upon social order, all of the sentiment and well-wishing opinion that is now dissipated would be centred. It would aim at the establishment of a definitely organized federation of nations not merely in order that certain moral obligations might be effectively enforced but in order that a variety of obligations might come into existence. The weakness on the ethical side of previous discussions of international courts and leagues has been that these have so largely assumed that moral considerations are already adequately cared for, and that it remains only to give them, through proper agencies, legal effect. The result was that moral enthusiasm was no sooner aroused than it was chilled by finding only legal technicalities with which to occupy itself, more international laws, treaties, courts, diplomats and lawyers. It wanted machinery to propel a great new idea and it found itself confronting additions to make the old machinery work better, to keep going the old idea of ultimate national sovereignty and irresponsibility. It found itself confronted with negative provisions for making war more difficult to enter upon, but which refrained from dealing in any positively organized way with those defects in social organization from which wars proceed. All proposals short of a league of nations whose object is not the negative one of preventing war but the positive one of looking after economic and social needs which are now at the mercy of chance and the voracity of isolated states, assume that war is the effect of bellicosity—which is exactly on the intellectual level of the famous idea that it is the dormitive power of opium which puts men to sleep.

Warlikeness is not of itself the cause of war; a clash of interests due to absence of organization is its cause. A supernational organization which oversees, obviates and adjusts these clashes, an organization which, as Mr. Levinson points out, is possible only with coincident outlawing of war itself, will focus moral energies now scattered and make operative moral ideas now futile. It will align the moral code of state behavior with the best which obtains as to personal conduct. But it will do more than that. It will give personal conscience a new stay and outlook. It will permit the social principle which is the heart of all morals to find full instead of hampered expression; it will enable it to be courageous because consistent. It will generalize that secularization or humanization of morals which is now so halting and vagrant that it leads many persons to escape supernaturalism only to land in a half-suppressed scepticism as to the possibility of any intelligent and objective morals, anything beyond social convention on one hand and personal taste on the other.

When I said that it is mere sentimentalism to deplore the deviation of the moral standard of states from that of persons unless one is willing to fight for a social organization which will permit moral relations and regulations to exist, I meant fight in every sense of the word. War to put a stop to war is no new thing. History shows a multitude of wars which have been professedly

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

waged in order that a future war should not arrive. History also shows that as a pacifist, Mars has not been a success. But a war waged to establish an international order and by that means to outlaw war is something hitherto unknown. In just the degree in which the American conception of the war gains force, and *this* war becomes a war for a new type of social organization, it will be a war of compelling moral import.

JOHN DEWEY.

CORRESPONDENCE

From an I W W in Jail

SIR: It has been remarked that there is a growth of anti-governmental sentiment among the workers of this country. The wage-earners, it is said, regard with increasing suspicion the good faith of the administrative and executive arms of the state.

Why is this? The superficial intellectualists glibly allege it is because of a growth of "syndicalist" or "direct actionist" thought among the workers.

This is putting the cart before the horse. The growth of such thought must be because of certain facts. These must have been of such a nature as to inspire doubt of the fairness and impartiality of certain branches of the state.

That such a sentiment of doubt among the workers is not based upon rhetoric or imagined wrongs is apparent when we direct our attention, for example, to the activities of the Department of Justice in the I. W. W. cases at present in preparation.

The Department of Justice obtains the money for the prosecution by the taxing of the people of America through the fiscal machinery of the government.

The Industrial Workers of the World endeavor to obtain sufficient money for the defense of their imprisoned members through the solicitation of donations, the sale of voluntary assessment stamps to members and the general diffusion of information on the case.

Funds for the prosecution are practically inexhaustible and are obtained without effort.

Funds for the defense are contributed from the meager earnings of workingmen and are obtained through solicitation and publicity.

The Department of Justice has the ear of the daily press, but the press is extremely chary of printing anything which emanates from the side of the defense.

Therefore, we have had to organize our own avenues of publicity. By means of circular letters and a weekly paper, the Defense News Bulletin, and by the organization of Defense Committees in various districts. we have sought to put before the wage-earners our side of the question.

But the Department of Justice has not confined itself to the preparation of the government's case against us. It has also tried to cripple our efforts to secure enough funds to provide ourselves with an adequate defense.

Agents of the Department occupied for eleven days the quarters of the General Defense Committee in Chicago, thereby materially hampering the solicitation of funds.

The International Socialist Review, a monthly magazine which of late has devoted much space to our publicity, has been forbidden the mails and also forbidden the Express Companies for the dispatch of their periodical.

Our little weekly, the Defense News Bulletin, we sent to various parts of the country in bundles through the Express Companies. They were then distributed among the workers by organizations or sympathizers in the various districts. This paper was published in Chicago and openly sold and distributed there.

Now the final blow has been struck. The Express Company has been forbidden to carry our paper—of course we had no mailing privileges—and the workers outside Chicago must rely upon what the Associated Press pleases to give them for news of our case.

Also this is a severe blow at the financial maintenance of the Defense. Is this fair fighting?

Many of us surrendered voluntarily to the U. S. authorities as soon as we heard we were indicted. All those arrested went willingly to jail, glad of a chance to have this great test case of industrial union principles. Surely one would think that a democratic government would accord us treatment which would not cause the workers to smile with bitter unbelief when such shining abstractions as "fair play" or "justice" are trumpeted forth.

And the vision of over a hundred of us, who have already lain in prison for five months in default of securing bail which has been set at a prohibitive figure, is not particularly calculated to strengthen the confidence of the more intelligent worker in the beneficence—or even in the impartiality—of that medley of powers and prerogatives we call the State.

CHARLES ASHLEIGH.

Cook County Jail,
Chicago, Illinois.

To Pry Off Bulgaria

[The following was sent as a letter from Radoslav A. Tsanoff, assistant professor of philosophy at the Rice Institute, Houston, Texas, to Professor Stephen Panaretoff, Bulgarian Minister to the United States.]

MY dear Professor Panaretoff: The grim events of 1913, and the more recent blunders of Entente diplomacy in the Balkans, compelled Bulgaria to wage a war of liberation in unwilling alliance with three autocracies, but in the firm hope that the democratic world would ultimately give her justice and thus enable her to break with the Kaisers and the Sultan. For a whole year since America entered the war, Bulgaria, resisting all German pressure, has made possible your continued presence in Washington, thus proving daily that the Sofia statesmen remember the American democratic ideals which they learned at Roberts College, your own Alma Mater; that they will continue to recognize America as a friend, and will never recognize the Prussian as a master.

The Russian revolution changed the entire meaning of the war. It thrilled every Bulgar heart. But, while the moral effect of Russian freedom is chastening and refining the democracies of the west, and has made sympathy with Kaiserism doubly impossible for democratic Bulgaria,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the recent complete military collapse of the revolution has served to weaken Bulgaria's resistance to German pressure, and is even today staining the heretofore stainless record of our free nation.

Have we lived to see the day when a Bulgarian King and government, stand by the Kaiser while his sword is piercing the very heart of Russia, our cultural mother and liberator, to destroy her new freedom? Are Bulgarian citizens indeed to be transported like cattle from the trenches of Macedonia, where they have been battling for freedom, to the trenches of Flanders and France, there to face death and dishonor for a cause which is foreign to them and which they detest? Germany, outwardly victorious, is plunged into the abyss of ignominy, and she is designedly dragging us down, in order to make us irrevocably hers.

From the Bulgarian Legation, in Stockholm, my brother, a captain on the Bulgarian army's general staff, has voiced the indignant protest of all democratic Bulgaria against the Prussianism of the Sofia court and its betrayal of Bulgaria's honor. We Bulgarians in this country are not muzzled by Prussian censorship. We must speak out for our freedom-loving brothers at home. And you, sir, a thorough democrat, are our minister, the minister of the Bulgarian people. To you, as a free citizen of Bulgaria, I denounce openly and unequivocally the connivance of Ferdinand's henchmen at the crucifixion of free Russia, and the sending of Bulgar troops to the western front. Through you I call upon all my countrymen in America to declare unitedly and publicly to the world that the Bulgarian people have no part and lot in this disgrace. Future freedom for Bulgaria is unthinkable if free Russia is crushed, and if the ideals for which America is fighting today are defeated in Europe. We know this: the heart of democratic Bulgaria is with democratic America and with free Russia, and not with the Kaiser.

We turn now to America. She must not condemn the Bulgarian people along with Ferdinand and his Prussian masters. Now is the time for her to extend a hand directly to the Bulgarian folk. Let her, speaking for the Allies, recognize the justice of our cause in Macedonia. Offer peace to Bulgaria on the explicit condition that she break definitely with the Kaiser. Such a resolute word, clearly spoken, will change the entire Balkan situation.

RADOSLAV A. TSANOFF.

Houston, Texas.

An Untimely Parallel?

SIR: Will you allow a constant reader of the New Republic, from the first day it was published till now, to criticize your second article on the first page of your issue of March 2.

The historic parallel you draw between Germany's possible government of Russia and England's rule in India, is to my mind both inaccurate and most untimely.

"Germans," you say, "will be able to use Russians in order to dominate Russia, just as the English use Indians to rule India."

If you must indulge in the dangerous habit of historic parallel why not take a case that is our own and of our own time? Why not say "As the U. S. uses Philippinos to rule the Philippines."

Surely these are not times in which it is wise to permit sneering allusions to evils long past, allusions that cannot fail to hurt sorely tried friends and Allies, and to give encouragement to doubtful friends and open enemies.

The records of our own dealing with inferior and weaker states and peoples are not perfect. Yet are we honestly convinced that our aims are high, that we are not seeking merely to govern in order to exploit them. As much may truthfully be said of England's relations to India and the Indians. To suggest a parallel with modern Prussianism seems most untimely and most untrue.

W. S. RAINSFORD.

Camden, South Carolina.

Pacifists and Children

SIR: The City of the Angels is too intensely patriotic to neglect any form of war relief, but it continues to specialize on what students of the drama call comic relief.

Last Friday teams from several high schools debated the question, "Resolved, that the nations of the world should adopt the program of the League to Enforce Peace." Monday night, according to the Times, "the Board of Education unanimously condemned the debating of peace. The members were emphatic in their denunciation of such discussions." "We don't want any discussion of peace in our public schools," said the President of the board. "There is already too big an opportunity for the sowing of propaganda in this country, without opening our schools for the poisoning of children's minds during a struggle for national life and liberty." Another member of the board remarked, "The city won't let the pacifists talk about peace in public halls, so why should we let the children discuss peace in public debates. It must be stopped at once." The athletic coach observed that, "the League to Enforce Peace is not a pacifist organization, if I am correctly informed, but is a militant organization, advocating international militant measures to hold enemies in leash"; but the upshot of the whole affair was that "from now until the end of the world war the subject of peace will be taboo as a debating topic in the public schools."

CARL THURSTON.

Pasadena, California.

Attractive Food Control

SIR: A good application of the law of parsimony is, Never ask for legislation to do a thing when you can do the thing without it. In your issue of February 23rd Charles Merz gives, as one of the three pieces of legislation which the Food Administration must have, powers of supervision over retailers. The importance of making the retail grocers be good is painfully evident to almost everybody who has got the eating habit, but one cannot see why it could not be done by what somebody has proposed to call attractive legislation, as distinguished from the compulsory sort; and as I understand it, the Food Administration already has abundant powers to put this "legislation" into effect.

Control over retailers presupposes the determination of fair and reasonably stable prices. Now when such prices have been settled let posters be placed in all towns and the precincts of all cities somewhat after the following:

> These are fair prices in this locality until . . . . . sugar . . . . . cents; coffee . . . . . cents, etc. If your grocer is charging you more than the above he *is holding you up*, and if you will send your order to the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

undersigned he will turn it over to some one who will supply you at the proper price. . . . . Agent, Food Administration.

The following firms in this town have promised to charge the above prices, with changes as authorized by the Food Administration from time to time: . . . . . The following concerns have refused so to promise: . . . . .

The poster should of course be sent in advance to all retailers concerned, with a letter asking, "Will you cooperate or will you obstruct?" and stating that in default of a favorable reply the recipient will be publicly posted as an obstructionist.

Equally desirable, but by no means equally easy to work out, would be posters stating, for example:

A fair price for potatoes is . . . . . cents per cwt. under current quotations in the . . . . . market, and the undersigned Food Agent will see that these prices are paid as soon as . . . . . cwt. are offered for sale at this station.

It is to the overcharging by grocers that the present pound-for-pound system of flour distribution owes its extreme unpopularity. For instance, grocers in this locality, taking advantage of transportation difficulties and the limited supply of cornmeal in the hands of the large retailers, have been charging almost 8 cents a pound for it, as against about 6 cents for wheat flour. Now most consumers quite fail to see the logic of Mr. Hoover's policy of insisting on the use of substitutes for wheat even though they cost more, on the plea that he needs the wheat for export. Why, they ask, can't he export the substitutes? What they do see is, on the part of the retailers a profiteering on patriotism and on the part of the Food Administration a disposition to humor the dietary habits of the Allies. No doubt popular opinion is wrong on the last point, no doubt there are good reasons for preferring wheat for export; anyhow not many of us would kick on Mr. Hoover's flour policy if the wheat flour substitutes were not sold at holdup prices. But it is putting it on us pretty thick to make us not only radically change our eating habits but contribute extensively to swell the illgotten gains of the greedygut grocers.

F. H. Foote.

East Jordan, Michigan.

Divine Right Renascent

SIR: Charles I had his Cromwell, and his direct line is giving the earth no further trouble, but the Stuart theories die hard. It is difficult to estimate as yet what amount the United States must spend in the effort to stamp blatant divine right out of Hohenzollern Germany; it might be even more difficult to determine just how much of that same archaic disease lies dormant in so hopeful a democracy as our own, breaking out only sporadically, and under the protective coloring of a revised nomenclature. There is a certain Judge White in Los Angeles, who, in sentencing three men found guilty of holding a religious meeting in which it was stated that Christ would not have used a bayonet, broke away from his safe, vote-catching banalities to comment on the origin of the power of the state. After reading these paragraphs one opens his eyes and reads again. But a stenographic report is not an optical illusion. The judge said these things, and immediately afterward fined the three $1,200 each, with the trifling addition of six months in jail:

"Duty to country is a duty of conscience, a duty to God. For country exists by natural divine right. It receives from God the authority needful for its life and work; its authority to command is divine. The Apostle of Christ to the Gentiles writes: 'There is *no power but from God, and those that are, are* ordained of God. Therefore, he that resisteth the power resisteth the ordinance of God.'

"The religion of patriotism was not sufficiently considered by you three defendants, and yet it is this religion which gives to country its majesty, and to patriotism its sacredness and force.

". . . Yes, alliance in this war meant force, force meant war, war meant blood. But it was God's force. When has a battle for humanity and liberty been won except by force? What barricade of wrong, injustice, and oppression has ever been carried except by force?"

It might be pertinent to ask where the people come in, and whether God is subsidizing all the governments, including Germany.

The case has been appealed. It is to be hoped that the Superior Judge will not have confined his reading and thinking to the periods preceding Milton's Tenure of Kings.

Maxwell Anderson.

Whittier, California.

Judge Rodey on the Kept Press

SIR: Most of the Southwest has no press that expresses real public opinion. Only a very few newspapers exist that are not to a more or less extent the "kept" press of the Big Interests. Especially is this true of New Mexico.

I deny that the people of the Southwest, that is the overwhelming majority of them, approved the deportation from Bisbee, on the contrary they regarded that action as wholly criminal and outrageous, but there is no impartial press in sufficient number to give expression to this opinion of the honest people.

The morning after the deportation occurred I personally wrote very vigorously against the outrage, and called upon our Governor to take action, but could only get the matter published in two or three newspapers in the whole Southwest, although I sent it to quite a few. In my articles I predicted that the President would order the investigation which he did, and I predict that he will yet order the Department of Justice to institute proper prosecutions against the parties guilty of the outrage against citizens of the United States.

A short time later I took the same kind of stand against the deportations from Gallup to Belen, New Mexico, but also only a very few newspapers would publish the articles I wrote. The sheriff of McKinley County, New Mexico, is now defending a proceeding to oust him from office for the part he is alleged to have taken in this outrage.

In my articles I advocated the disbarment of the counsel for the big operators who either aided, abetted, or advised these high handed outrages, but so far nothing has come of it, because predatory wealth is deeply entrenched in the Southwest. People in the East have little or no knowledge of the extent to which the Big Interests control in the Southwest, or the extent of their criminal exploitation of the region.

Albuquerque, New Mexico. Bernard S. Rodey.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

At the Capitol

Concerning Senator Reed

WHEN a stubborn and straightforward man like Senator LaFollette opposes the war and makes an inexcusable remark about the Lusitania, it is easy to attack his disloyalty and believe him a friend of Germany. Yet in the subsequent war measures, Senator LaFollette's vote has usually been on the right side. If one should go on a disloyalty hunt in the Senate, one could do better than to trail the Senator from Wisconsin. "Gumshoe Bill" Stone has also subsided. But there is another Senator from Missouri. Of course it is absurd to suppose that any United States senator is wilfully aiding the Kaiser. James A. Reed's particular variety of obnoxiousness is not of such heroic stature. It would be wholly inconsiderable, were it not that his tactics offer a real danger to public morale.

In committee, Senator Reed has been doing his best to block an approach to war efficiency. He is leading the opposition to the Overman bill, framed by the President, in order to enable him to carry out the long overdue reorganization of administrative departments. Mr. Reed has succeeded in keeping this bill from being reported to the Senate for over a month, in spite of urgent pressure from the White House. Opposition to the Overman bill is a legitimate attitude for a Senator, but purely obstructive tactics which keep it from public discussion on the floor are not legitimate.

In public, Mr. Reed is doing everything in his power to hamper and undermine one of the most necessary and most successful of the war enterprises—the Food Administration. Here again, the objection is not so much against the fact that he is critical of the administration as against his spirit and methods. A sincere analysis and discussion of the Food Administration's failures and of the farmers' discontent might lead to useful legislation, and the probability is strong that such legislation would strengthen Mr. Hoover's powers. But that is the last result Senator Reed desires. He prefers to attack, and to attack with a ridicule and innuendo which merely show how such weapons can be abused.

During the committee hearings on the sugar shortage the Senator's attitude towards Mr. Hoover showed such vindictiveness as to cause chagrin to the spectators; he frequently addressed the chief witness as a prosecuting attorney might address a criminal. Mr. Hoover, denied an examination early in the hearing, had issued a long public statement to get the facts before the people while the impression made by the hostile witnesses was still fresh. Subsequent efforts to get this statement into the testimony were blocked by Mr. Reed. On the last day, Senator Jones was asking such questions as would enable Mr Hoover to embody in his answers the material it contained. Suddenly Senator Reed objected: "The evidence is of such a character that it would not be accepted in any court." Mr. Jones replied: "I may lay a foundation for it which I think would make it admissible even in a court of justice, or perhaps a criminal court in Missouri." Whereupon the spectators found uproarious release for their delight.

Last week Mr. Reed returned to the attack in the Senate chamber. A deficiency appropriation of $1,750,000 for the Food and Fuel Administrations gave him the opportunity. In comparison with appropriations for other departments, this sum was trifling. Altogether Mr. Hoover has not spent more than it would cost to build a single battleship. Yet Mr. Reed found it necessary to say: "A drunken sailor landed in port for the first time in five years and filled up with a bad quality of New England rum never threw money around as the Food Administration is now doing."

The Senator took up the items in the expense account one by one and ridiculed them. He pretended not to understand how anyone could spend so much for typewriters, pencils, buttons, photographs, moving picture slides and medallions, all the time ignoring the gigantic publicity campaign for conservation which we have reason to know has been so thorough. He omitted to mention the erection of large new office buildings which have been necessary. He questioned the need for the salaries paid, and at the same time hinted that there was something wrong about the motives of those who are working without salary.

Why are such trivialities worth noticing? For the reason that, however absurd they seem, they are invaluable ammunition for the gossips and others who wish to destroy public confidence in Mr. Hoover and his work. Such a large undertaking as his is inconceivably difficult, in the nature of the case. It curbs and annoys many interests and individuals. As long as the Food Administration acts for the best interests of the public, an honest objection can be met. But it is difficult to deal with submarines.

One has only to recount Senator Reed's major charges to understand how eagerly they will be seized upon by troublemakers. Mr. Hoover has lived most of his life in England, therefore he is likely to be more concerned about feeding the English than about feeding the Americans. He was appointed a member of the Allied purchasing committee, therefore in the interests of the Allies he is unjustly forcing down the prices received by American farmers. By creating the United States grain corporation he usurped autocratic power which Congress did not intend him to have. The business experts brought to Washington to advise him are all betraying their trust. "The men whom the people believe have been mistreating them and profiteering are the men who are in charge and in control." For similar statements socialist papers have been suppressed.

As George Creel pointed out some years ago, Mr. Reed is one of those who use a pretense of radicalism in order to prejudice uninformed radicals against their own best interests. Two days after his attack on the man who is doing as much as anyone could do in the circumstances to keep down the price of food, he was sentimentalizing about the underpaid women clerks of Washington. "I say now that my heart bleeds every time I see a lot of women going down the street in the morning on their way to some shop or store or office where they work for a living. I wish to God no woman in this world ever had to do any work except in the home of a father or a mother or in the home of some good man who was her husband." Such statements are quotable, and they offend no employer.

Mr. Reed is not noted for his services to organized labor, but it costs no great business anything when he opposes the extension to eight hours of the work-day for government clerks. When the Senator begins to take an interest in the wage disputes in the packing houses, or when he requests Mr. Hoover to put a still narrower limitation on packers' profits, it will be time for labor and the farmers to applaud him.

G. S.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

After the Play

THE final objection to heaven is its perfection, the complete and cloying certainty that nothing can ever go wrong. Until machinery was invented, no one really conceived the horror of this celestial sausage-machine, "linked sweetness long drawn out." The imagination always found a loophole, as it still finds a loophole in observing such a perfection as a butler. But the invention of machinery made the possibility of heaven too realistic. One could conceive of it minting perfect days as a machine mints perfect coins, shining, golden, null. And where the coins have the possibility of being squandered, of buying a thousand things all of them incongruous, the golden days of heaven could only have been used to procure some other round little perfection, smiling into one's face after a manner ordained.

Do you think you could stand it? The curve of your pantaloons would always stay graceful, you wouldn't have to brush your hair, you'd read Walter Pater religiously, and your soul would have the constancy of a gas-log. It would be intolerable. You'd throw your harp at a pier-glass in the hope of shattering something. It would bound back to you, mildly reproachful, leaving the pier-glass with the same glazed stare.

This objection to heaven is precisely the objection to reformers, to the "goo-goos" whom people like Charlie Murphy and Roger Sullivan heartily despise. The real trouble with reformers is not that they want to reform, which is a gallant thing, but that their desire to reform is automatic and mechanical. We know them. Put them in Venice and they'd start a Good Canals Movement. Put them in Honolulu and they'd think of nothing but Village Improvement. Their desire to reform has been so exasperated by circumstance that it is chronic, irreducible, absolute. A baby trying to bite her big toe is instantly visualized as the Toe Problem. A daisy is no longer a daisy to such a human being. It has become an item in Back to Nature propaganda. The pained purposefulness of the "goo-goo" confronted with anything from a world war to the outbreak of picketing (the Picket Problem) is one of the melancholy factors of American existence. It has its bright side, but the confirmed habit is Nubian.

And this is the saddest fact attending the performance of Ibsen's Wild Duck at the Plymouth Theatre in New York. Poor old Ibsen was himself in some measure to blame for it, I suppose. His intractability had something of the reformer in it. He came to the theatre when a social conception was so alien to it that he was bound to tighten his muscles and drive social concepts in. But when he had done that, when he had shown so magnificently the paucity of ordinary formulae for the common moral and immoral situations of the theatre, he was already taken over by the "goo-goos" as their own specialist in reform. And this is insufferable. One has only to attend The Wild Duck to see how far-fetched it is, how lacking in perception. For The Wild Duck is clearly, and happily, the creation of an artist who disdained to be slave of any pet attitude or any moral preoccupation whatever. If the tedium of heaven is felt to be attached to Ibsen, the tedium of a rectitude that nothing could relax and an analytic faculty that was remorseless, it is only necessary to see The Wild Duck to be converted.

He was between fifty and sixty when The Wild Duck was published, in 1884;; and that, after all, is not the sophomoric age. The Wild Duck, indeed, is Ibsen's complete commentary on the egg-shaped idealism which is sophomoric, the idealism that is still in the shell. In Gregers Werle, the young man who talks of the demands of the ideal, he exhibits with a justice that goes far below catchwords the green-sick slave of idealistic formulae, the man of morbid conscience, the man with the malady of integrity. But what makes Gregers Werle worth observing is the situation in which he finds himself, the sort of humanity to which he applies his ideal. Only a man of Ibsen's age and ripened experience could have rounded out so humorously and sweetly the fantastic home-life of the Ekdals, the compound of weakness and wildness, racial feminine strength and silly masculinity, that is revealed in the photographer's attic. Time and again the humor of Hjalmar Ekdal was like Briggs's cartoons, "Oh, Man!" Ibsen had let nothing of the male's special fatuousness escape him, or go without a silent laugh. But the beauty of this portrait was its relevance to the intrusion of the idealist, the man who beheld himself as the truth-teller, the destroyer of lies.

When you hear someone speak of "vital lies," you nearly always resent it. It is like the sophistry of a Machiavelli or a Bismarck, the formula by which any cold intriguer can anaesthetize conscience and subdue vigilant morality to his purpose. Yet The Wild Duck is a wise and tender fable of vital lies. It is not only because of the make-believe of the drunken old lieutenant, the mighty sportsman who worked gradually from bears to rabbits, or the lazy fatuity of the photographer whose watchword is "tomorrow," the day that never comes. The real need for life-illusion is the need of Gina Ekdal, the illiterate wife of the photographer whose goodness supports the family; and the need of Hedvig, the child whose faith reposes in the soap-bubble father.

There is nothing softened, nothing timid or tentative, about the shamefulness of Ekdal's position. The idealist in Gregers Werle is by no means emptily invoked. Hjalmar is not merely living with a woman who was the mistress of old Werle and who was pregnant with Hedvig before she came to him, he was fooled into the marriage by the ingenuity of old Werle and is kept afloat by the help which Werle is still bestowing. But what Gregers misses, what the formal idealist always misses, is the subtle mitigation of all these abominable facts. Gina Ekdal was not taking this assistance as the "wages of shame," she was too busy making both ends meet to be so romantic. And her deceit of Hjalmar was in any case not monstrous, it was not calculated deceit. The beastliness of old Werle, in addition, had impuritanical excuses. It was not so black as his son imagined. And the weakness of the Ekdals, son and father, was infinitely less to be remedied, less to be reproached, than any tame duck could guess.

If Pinero or Jones had made such concessions to "vital lies," I do not think I should have valued them. But there is something about the unbending of that gnarled, grisled, wind-beaten, granite Ibsen that is like the wildness of heart-free, unexpected song. Ibsen had the integrity of a Covenanter. He was incapable of sentimentalism. Yet his detection of the "sick conscience," the sentimentalism, of Gregers Werle has a leniency that in anyone else might be depraved. The humor with which he is performed at the Plymouth by Mr. Lionel Atwill and Mr. Edward Connolly, the sincerity with which Mme. Nazimova and Miss Veness and Mr. Mestayer conceive him, show how deep is the humanity that "goo-goos" never give to him. It is a remarkable performance of a master's play.

F. H.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books and Things

AT Harvard, near the end of the eighteen-eighties some of us came for the first time into contact with the rumor that art in England and America was not free. We took the rumor with a gravity proper to its implications and to our age, examined it and found it true. In England, for example, the novelist's art had lost the freedom which once was hers. It was Taine who pointed out that Thackeray had omitted the one fact his readers most needed to learn about Mrs. Rawdon Crawley. To reread Vanity Fair was to become convinced not only that Thackeray had not told us whether Mrs. Crawley's temperament was fire, ice, or something between the two, but also that Thackeray didn't know himself, and would have thought such knowledge unfit for a gentleman, even a creative gentleman. Of such grave internal injuries was a habit of reticence the cause. By contrasting Thackeray's suppressions and evasions with Fielding's plainness of speech, which a few of the more optimistic among us called a noble plainness, we reached the conclusion that the moment had come for striking the fetters from the English-speaking novelist's stunted limbs.

Timidity had dealt yet more devastatingly with the English-speaking dramatist. He was extinct. It had killed him. To find him alive and strong we had to go back, far back, past Shelley, who had treated in The Cenci a subject forbidden on our contemporary stage, back to the early eighteenth and late seventeenth centuries, to Vanbrugh, Farquhar, Congreve and Wycherley, since whose day there had been no drama in English. Their obtruded indecency might seem monotonous, their drama might not move as life moved, but it did keep going. Leaving them we marched further up the stream of time, and pitched our tents upon the wide Elizabethan tableland, refreshed by all the winds of the world. The greatest spaces, the darkest passions, the earthliest laughter, the loveliest gaiety, color, music, ruin and will—it was to these that freedom led the Elizabethan right party.

From England and the past we turned to the continent and the present, to the dramatists and novelists of France. The briefest excursion was long enough to assure us that art, in France, was free. So liberating was their liberty that at first we did not notice how close they came to saying all of them only one forbidden thing, or how differently they said it. At first we lumped Théophile Gautier and Flaubert, Zola and de Maupassant together as men who were not afraid to speak the truth, and whose art no authority made tongue-tied. An equal frankness gave feature to the French stage of that period, as we saw it then through opening eyes. Francillon had just been born, Denise was only a few years old, Suzanne d'Ange, although past thirty, had not lost her youth. But our divine omnivorousness could not last. We could not remain forever blind to Flaubert's want of joy, to Zola's longness and heaviness, to Maupassant's sober cruelty, to the fact that Dumas fils, in spite of all his wit, took his morality with a preacher's seriousness. One of our feebler spirits, looking for somebody who was frivolous and lighthearted, happened upon Meilhac and Halévy, and was quick to spread the good news that even free artists could be care-free.

Thirty years ago we thought what we were told to think. Writing only a few years later than the date I have in mind, writing of a Meilhac and Halévy revival at the Variétés, Jules Lemaitre said that La Petite Marquise, for all its lightness, its ease, its air of having been made out of nothing and with no effort, was nevertheless a remarkably complex work. It was an ironic comedy and a comedic comedy, although irony and the comic were supposed to be mutually exclusive. "Mots de nature" were so plentiful in the dialogue that here and there, fifteen years before Antoine's time, La Petite Marquise was a Théatre Libre play; this impression being contradicted by the occasional artifice which brought on the comic effects, and by Meilhac and Halévy's elegance and self-pleasing fancifulness. The characters had often an air of self-mockery, yet they were very sincere, very natural, very true, with a truth which liked to be daring, which seemed now and then to be on the point of turning dismal and cruel, but which was never either. The authors were indulgent in their wisdom. They did not ask too much of mankind or of life, for all they asked was a little gentleness.

A week or two ago, after an evening at the Vieux Colombier, where they were giving La Petite Marquise and l'Amour Médecin, and where I had been interested and amused by the contrast between Molière's broad brush, and the younger men's brittle slimness, I reread Lemaitre's article. Very sincere, very natural, very true in spite of their self-mockery—nowadays no one would think of applying these words to the characters in La Petite Marquise. These men and women have a top-layer naturalness, to be sure, and they are true each to his own surface, but surface is their only attribute, two dimensions are all they possess. They are light soils. They are lean ores. They are figures taken out of vaudeville, in the French sense, and put into a story which does illustrate human nature, but throughout which they keep their vaudeville nature. Their clear feelings are on the tiniest scale. Marionettes they are, the work of an indulgent and tolerant creator, who keeps their strings out of sight, their motions almost life-like.

A friend who had seen La Petite Marquise, and whom I asked to tell me why the play had aged, said the right answer was the war. Another friend's explanation began further back. We live, he went on to assure me, in a democratic age. From any representative art we demand pictures of lives as modest and as busy as our own. We demand above all the discussion on the stage of problems that must be solved, and solved soon. What have we to do with the lives of idle men and women in love, with little marchionesses and the little adulteries that they take under advisement, shy at, renounce and postpone? At this point he laid a hand on my sleeve, gave me a cosmic look, and remarked that we live in an age of transition. Then I realized sadly and gloomily what I might have known all along, that from this man no son of Adam would ever get an explanation small enough to fit anything smaller than this universal frame of things.

I have reserved for my own use, as is the custom of all writers, the correct explanation. Time, in ageing La Petite Marquise, has had help from French playwrights who have succeeded Meilhac and Halévy, and from Maurice Donnay most of all. Today, to the generation which had just grown up in 1890, some of Lemaitre's words read less like a description of La Petite Marquise than like a forecast of Amants or La Douloureuse. Donnay gives us so much more than Meilhac and Halévy, and all that they give us except one thing—that sense of a tradition observed, of a given space being filled exactly, of design, of proportion, which pleased me so much, the other night, at the Vieux Colombier.

P. L.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Rebecca West's First Novel

The Return of the Soldier, by Rebecca West. New York: The Century Company. $1.

THIS book is like a golden cup of some best period, beautifully designed, graven with details one cannot look at often enough, covered with a patina such as nobody but Rebecca West gets, and filled with a curious wine of unfamiliar vintage.

The beauty Miss West gives us is a beauty of observation. She has an eye that can see, as if no one had seen them before, many things dear to England and England's visitors, English hills and trees, an English season, times of day, different kinds of day on the earth and in the clouds. It is a beauty of imagery, of phrases like "alchemy turning to gold all the dark metals of events," of imagery lovely and expressive, coming all the while and never too often, coming at the right moment and unsought. It is a beauty of English prose, of sentences shaped so that one would like to run one's fingers along the fineness of their curves and the delineative sharpness of their angles.

In a sense The Return of the Soldier is both contemporary and modern. Chris Baldry, thirty-six, a captain, serving on the French front, suffers concussion and forgets the last fifteen years of his life. The moment at which his memory stops short is fixed by a suppressed wish. Since the day when his father handed over to him, a boy of twenty-one, the management of the family business, Chris did his work well as a man of large affairs. He married. He made his wife as happy as he could by giving her kindness and ease and whatever money and her taste could buy. But Chris himself was not happy. He had never been happy since the day when he quarreled foolishly with his first love, Margaret Allington, the daughter of an innkeeper who lived on an island in the Thames. When Chris wakes to consciousness in a hospital, near Boulogne, he has forgotten his marriage, his wife, their baby who died five years ago, the war, his own age, everything that has happened since just before his quarrel with Margaret. It is to Margaret that he telegraphs and writes from hospital.

And in a sense this modern and contemporary story has no date. Upon his return to England, to the wife he cannot remember, Chris tells her that if he does not see Margaret he shall die. His wife sends for Margaret, married and middle-aged, with a face and figure that life has aged and blurred. Will his love change where it finds change? No, he joyfully accepts Margaret as she is, and then we come upon days of first love remembered, recreated, lived into the present, he believing in the present and taking it for real, she contrasting it, this strangely near and incarnate might have been, with the reality it effaces for Chris, the reality of their separation, their two defeated lives. She knows that their hour will end when his illness is over, that his cure will divide them, and send each back into an unloved existence, she longs for and dreads this cure.

While reading this part of the story I looked for a suggestion that to Chris and Margaret, had they married when they were young, ironic life would have brought something very different from the unshadowed happiness which their youth looked forward to. No such suggestion is made, and to have desired it was stupid of me, for Miss West has painted her picture of a golden age with another and more tonic irony; with a conviction which subtly pervades all her exaltation of love over success, all her faith that life without love is not life, the conviction that we must always choose to see things as they are, whatever serene visions are shattered by the choice, whatever towers fall.

Miss West does not insist upon this conviction. She does not insist upon any conviction. Before beginning The Return of the Soldier I could have sworn she would load her story with tendency. Into the stream of her narrative I was afraid she would discharge so many opinions that they would check its flow and threaten to change its course. I was sure all these opinions would be set down with pugnacious emphasis. These predictions were wide of the mark. The Return of the Soldier is singularly free from all kinds of affirmation except one, not just wiped clean of affirmations, but deeply otherwise conceived. My guess as to the story's first-beginnings, a guess I record because it helps to account for an impression left by the story, is that its author, intending to write a novel and looking about for a subject, hit upon loss of memory caused by concussion and defined by a suppressed wish, put this subject into her imagination and kept it there until she saw it as a beauty of human relation, of the unilluded woman's attitude toward the man who has forgotten all his life since just before the day when she went out of it. To this end, the portrayal of a relation, loss of memory and suppressed wish are only means. So imaginatively has this relation been conceived that almost nothing is told us of the past which does not qualify the present, and yet no part of the past strikes one as being withheld.

It was not Miss West's imagination, I should say, but her laboring will that did her dramatis personæ. That is what is the matter with her men and women. She is not yet a creator of character. An English clergyman, Chris's cousin Frank, draws his own likeness in one long letter, and the cleverness of this caricature, the author's parti pris, her pleasure in scoring too easily off her victim, are oddly out of place in this story, where all the other characters have few details, have little existence except as points in a relation. Miss West works hard over them. It is only when she hopes to make them come alive that she cannot refrain from affirmation.

Even the simplest story presents difficulties which its inventor must try to overcome, and which Miss West has not overcome. Of these I shall mention only the two that matter. Here is Margaret Allington, as she is when Chris loses his memory: "Well, she was not so bad. Her body was long and round and shapely, and with a noble squareness of the shoulders; her fair hair curled diffidently about a good brow; her gray eyes, though they were remote, as if anything worth looking at in her life had kept a long way off, were full of tenderness; and though she was slender, there was something about her of the wholesome, endearing heaviness of the ox or the trusted big dog. Yet she was bad enough. She was repulsively furred with neglect and poverty, as even a good glove that has dropped down behind a bed in a hotel and has lain undisturbed for a day or two is repulsive when the chambermaid retrieves it from the dust and fluff." The fear of the teller of Miss West's story, a cousin who has always been in love with Chris, is that he will not be able to accept this Margaret as his Margaret. It was my fear, and Chris's immediate acceptance of her is left unexplained. I am sceptical, and my scepticism keeps me company all the rest of the way.

Another feeling I have all along is wonder that neither Chris's wife, nor his cousin, nor Margaret, nor any of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the doctors try to restore Chris to the present by reminding him of his boy who died, by showing him some of the dearest toys in that nursery always kept as the baby left it five years ago. This obvious expedient is not tried until the end of the book, at the suggestion of a new doctor. And my uneasiness is the greater because another ending, given what Miss West gives us, is easily imagined. Why not have the toys, shown to Chris as soon as he returned to England, mean nothing to him because he saw them in his unloved wife's hands? Why not let the toys acquire their restorative power only when they are shown to him, at the story's end, by Margaret?

Such objections are more important while one is reading than after one has read. Although the beauty of Miss West's workmanship is perceived at once, the beauty of the relation she has imagined does not tell all its secret until later. Her book should have been printed, and will be some day, I hope, on pages that William Pickering might have designed. The present edition is neat, handy and commonplace. The illustrations, only four in all, are, in such a prose as Rebecca West's, four separate crimes.

Q. K.

An Apologia for Nietzsche

Nietzsche the Thinker, by William MacKintyre Salter. New York: Henry Holt & Co. $3.50.

IN our philosophical nurseries, Nietzsche still plays the part of "tiger, tiger, burning bright, in the forests of the night"—an object of unholy fascination to the wickedly venturesome, an object of fear and aversion to all good little boys. But the art of domestication, as practised by competent philosophers, like Henri Lichtenberger in France, or Raoul Richter and Alois Riehl in Germany, and now by Mr. W. K. Salter here in America, has tamed Nietzsche so successfully that he has become fit for any enlightened living-room. In fact, the only danger that the Respectable Person nowadays runs, who, under their guidance, makes a pet of Nietzsche, is that of being called a pro-German and a traitor. Apart from this risk, the reading of Nietzsche, or at least of Mr. Salter's book about Nietzsche, can do him nothing but good. The recipe for domestication is surprisingly simple: Go to Nietzsche's own writings and give them an honest, sympathetic, and complete reading. Then you will soon discover that the popular picture of him, as painted by newspaper—and magazine—writers on the basis of a few misunderstood catch-words, is so far from the truth as to be hardly even a caricature.

No doubt, Nietzsche himself must bear much of the blame for current misunderstandings. His aphoristic style makes for exaggerated emphasis. He uses sensational phrases like "immoralism" and "superman," "will to power" and "blond beast," to startle and shock people into attention—careless of the fact that such catch-words are bound to be bandied about, torn out of their context and correspondingly misinterpreted. He launches specific criticisms, sound enough in themselves, under cover of large terms, like "morality" or "Christianity," terms which stand for spiritual facts far too complex and many-sided, for the bearing of the criticism not to be misunderstood.

TIFFANY & Co.
GOLD AND SILVERSMITHS
ARTICLES OF UTILITY
SUPERIOR IN QUALITY
MODERATE IN PRICE
FIFTH AVENUE AND 37TH STREET
NEW YORK

Here is a small instance. "Look at the faces of great Christians! They are the faces of great haters." It would be an interesting experiment, if we could first settle with Nietzsche who are to be regarded as great Christians for the purpose of the experiment. There is a sound point: "He thinks that the souls of Christians, which have freed themselves from sin, are usually ruined by hatred of sin," as Mr. Salter puts it. We all know the intolerant moral fanatic in whom virtue has turned hard and sour, and hatred of "the world, the flesh, and the devil" killed out all charity and human-kindness. But we should not call such a one either "great" or "Christian."

Hence the first duty of Nietzsche's friends is to save him from himself, or at least from his own style. The way to do that is to bring together all his utterances on a given problem, and thus weave for his scattered aphorisms a context in which all the finer nuances, modifications, qualifications appear and produce, cumulatively, an altogether different picture of Nietzsche's *whole* mind on that problem. The result of this treatment almost invariably is that the first appearance of paradox and violence gives way to fundamental sanity and common sense. Mr. Salter uses this method throughout with excellent effect. His book deserves to rank as the best general survey of Nietzsche's thought for English-speaking readers. The thoroughness of its scholarship is beyond praise. There can hardly be a book or article on Nietzsche, in French, German, or English, to which he does not refer; certainly none of importance. His sympathy with, and enthusiasm for, his subject are unmistakable. Yet, whilst there is little, if any, criticism, neither is there any special pleading, and, above all, no blowing of trumpets, no fulsome lauda-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion. Throughout, Mr. Salter writes with admirable restraint and self-effacement. He reports, he quotes, he paraphrases, and summarizes. He lets Nietzsche speak for himself, and invites his readers to judge for themselves. He is content to bring together the materials for an adequate judgment, arranging, ordering, supplying the necessary clues to a proper understanding. Only once, I think, does his enthusiasm overshoot the mark, when he suggests that we shall some day speak of a pre-Nietzschean and a post-Nietzschean period in philosophy. That was Nietzsche's own estimate: "I am powerful enough to break the history of humanity into two parts." But whilst Nietzsche's influence, with the help of such books as Mr. Salter's, will increase and last, it will produce no crises or catastrophic changes comparable to the Reformation or the French revolution, or, in philosophy, to Kant's work, or in science, to Darwin's. Fine as it is at its best, it does not rank among that company.

Nietzsche's contributions to theory of knowledge and to metaphysics are negligible, except for his happy knack of putting things with unprofessorial vividness and elegance. His thinking on these matters exhibits no striking originality, but runs true to type everywhere. Mr. Salter's label for it, "pluralistic voluntarism," stows it away in its proper pigeon-hole. On its pluralistic side it has affinities with Leibnitz; on its voluntaristic side with Schopenhauer and von Hartmann. In theory of knowledge, Nietzsche rings the changes on the familiar turns and twists of positivism, relativism, and subjective idealism, and even his favorite speculation that knowledge may be nothing but a gigantic illusion and deception, necessary to life and, as such, created and maintained by the will, is nothing but Fichte caricatured into agnosticism, and dressed up in biological sauce.

No, Nietzsche's greatness is as a moralist, critical and constructive. And here Mr. Salter makes short work of a host of popular misconceptions of Nietzsche as an advocate of war, of egoism, of lawless self-indulgence, of cruelty.

Let us take two instances, Nietzsche's attitude towards war, and his ideal of the superman. If it were not so tragically symptomatic of popular prejudice and ignorance, it would be ludicrous to note how Nietzsche's name has come to serve as an opprobrious label for precisely the things which he never wearied of attacking. First, as to war. It is true, he was not a pacifist, and, like Hegel before him, pointed out the bracing effect of the effort it demands on people given over to luxury and ease. But he did not forget to reckon the cost in lives wasted, intellects dulled, characters broken down. He held that a people living full and strong has no need of war. He was an unsparing critic of militarism and its social effects. He looked forward to the day when even proud, war-like peoples will voluntarily disarm. "Better perish than hate and fear, and *twice better perish than make oneself hated and feared*—this must some day be the supreme maxim of every individual political society." The Bolsheviki could not do better than quote Nietzsche to Kühlmann and Hertling. For German imperialism, as developed after 1870, he had nothing but hard words. National rivalries and antagonisms seemed to him the festering sore in Europe's fair culture. He pointed out the instability of a peace based on balance of power and a race of armaments. Such a policy, he saw, could breed nothing but mistrust, fear, hate. He was ever a faithful apostle of the gospel of a "united Europe," of a federation of European peoples, indeed of a world-wide organization of humanity. For, at bottom, the one thing he cared about was the promotion of a higher type of human being.

And this brings us to the "superman." Popularly, the superman is conceived on the lines of Plato's picture of the perfect tyrant in the ninth book of the Republic: a reckless exploiter of the weak who are in his power, inhuman to others in the indulgence of every whim and desire of his own, a chartered libertine. But this is how Nietzsche actually dreamt of him: "to become artist (creating), saint (loving), and philosopher (knowing)." He is indeed thought of as fit to rule and fit to be obeyed, but only because he embodies the highest development of human nature, and, above all, because he knows first and foremost how to rule himself. The first fruit of the will to power is always self-mastery. Nietzsche is far too subtle a moralist to commit a blunder so elementary as to mistake dissipation, vice, self-indulgence for strength. They are symptoms of weakness, lack of self-control, lack of selfhood. "Develop all thy powers? but that means: Develop anarchy! Go to pieces!" So, again, the superman is unselfish. He spends himself out of the abundance of his gifts and powers, whereas the egoist, miserly by nature, seeks only to get, not to give, to consume, not to create.

The homely formula, "plain living and high thinking," would hit off the superman's rule of life not ineptly, except that Nietzsche would have amended it by saying "arduous, nay even painful, living." Not a happy, but a heroic life is his ideal. Here are two typical utterances. "Every day is ill-used and a danger for the next in which we have not at least once denied ourselves in some way. This gymnastics is indispensable if we wish to keep the joy of being our own master." "To the men that concern me, I wish suffering, solitude, illness, maltreatment, disgrace. . . . I have no pity for them, because I wish them the one thing that can prove today whether a man has value or not—that he hold his ground." The superman's principal virtues are courage, honesty, insight, sympathy, justice, love. Indeed, his dominant mood is that of a "great love," and reverence is said to be his only motive. Clearly, these teachings, so far from being immoral and revolutionary, belong rather to the great commonplaces of our moral tradition.

As regards glorification of the strong and ruthlessness toward the weak, Mr. Salter happily quotes a parallel from Emerson's "The World-Soul."

> "He serveth the servant,
> The brave he loves amain;
> He kills the cripple and the sick,
> And straight begins again;
> For gods delight in gods,
> And thrust the weak aside;
> To him who scorns their charities,
> Their arms fly open wide."

Over-tender consciences may find in Emerson only a milk-and-water optimism, but those who have ears for the undertone of robustness in his outlook on the world, will find that Nietzsche speaks to them of familiar things.

In fact, Mr. Salter is absolutely right when he sums up Nietzsche as "at bottom a religious philosopher." Nietzsche throughout his life was, in his own way, a seeker after salvation. Only he called it "affirmation of life." Through Schopenhauer and the Greeks his eyes had been opened to the irrationality of life, its tragic burden of

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

In Our First Year of War

By Woodrow Wilson

That the public desires to possess in permanent form these important State papers is proved by the success of "Why We Are At War," and by the many requests which have come to us for a war volume of the President's messages which have appeared since the earlier book was published. The book opens with the second inaugural address and contains the President's messages and addresses in the first calendar year of the war, including the latest, "The Terms of Peace."

Portrait. $1.00 *net.*

HARPER & BROTHERS

Established 1817

Learn How Law Training Wins Success

GET THIS BOOK FREE

75% of business litigation is preventable. Law trained men are therefore in strong demand for business leadership.

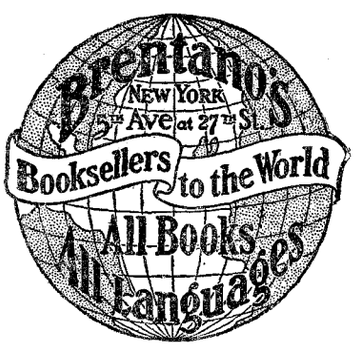
A $25,000 executive picked by Frank A. Vanderlip was chosen because of his special training in law. A million dollars was the value placed on a law-training by E. H. Harriman.

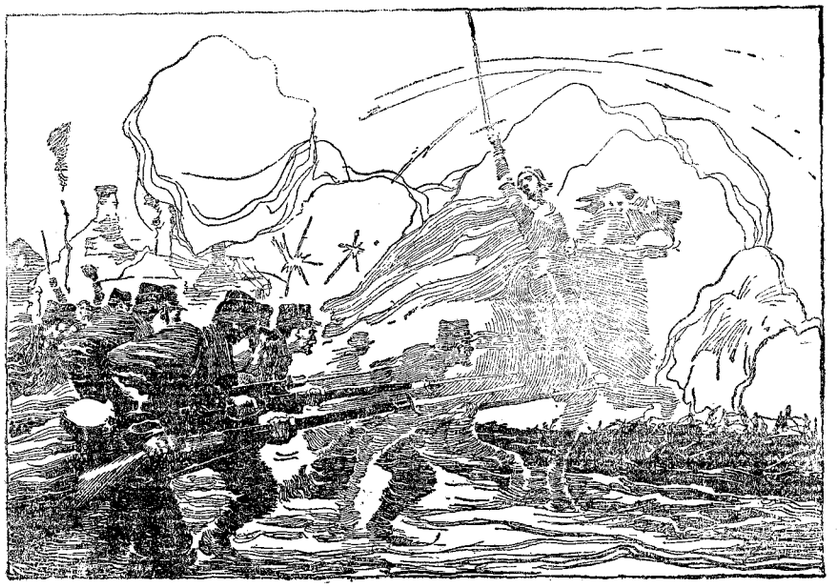
We Bring the Law to You

You can learn law in your spare time through a non-resident course of University Standards. The Blackstone Institute—organized to meet the demand for law trained men—gives you the basic law training needed by every man in business or who is ambitious for a professional career. Write today for intensely interesting 118 page free book.

BLACKSTONE INSTITUTE

Dept. 223 608 S. Dearborn Street Chicago, Ill.





The Miracle of the Marne

The battle of the Marne halted the rush of the Germans towards Paris. It aroused the French to superhuman bravery. They fought as if led by the spirit of the Maid of Orleans herself.

The Marne was a demonstration of the power of patriotism with its back against the wall. The same sacrifice of self, the same love of country and unity of purpose that inspired the French people must inspire us, and we must win the war.

We are sending our best manhood to fight for us. They must be armed, fed and clothed, cared for through sickness and wounds. This is the work of every individual as well as the Government.

It is the proud duty of the Bell System to coordinate its purpose and equipment to the other factors in our national industrial fabric, so that the manufacture and movement of supplies to our boys abroad be given right of way.

AMERICAN TELEPHONE AND TELEGRAPH COMPANY
AND ASSOCIATED COMPANIES

One Policy *One System* *Universal Service*

Notice to Subscribers

IF YOUR COPY does not arrive promptly on Saturday, do not assume that it has been lost in transit. With the terribly congested condition of the railroads at this time delays to the mail trains are inevitable. If your copy of THE NEW REPUBLIC does not reach you at its regular time wait a few days before writing to us. By that time it will probably be in your hands.

SHORT-STORY WRITING

Dr. Esenwein

A COURSE of forty lessons in the history, form, structure, and writing of the Short Story taught by Dr. J. Berg Esenwein, for years Editor of Lippincott's.

One student writes:—"Before completing the lessons, received over $1000 for manuscripts sold to Woman's Home Companion, Pictorial Review, McCall's and other leading magazines."

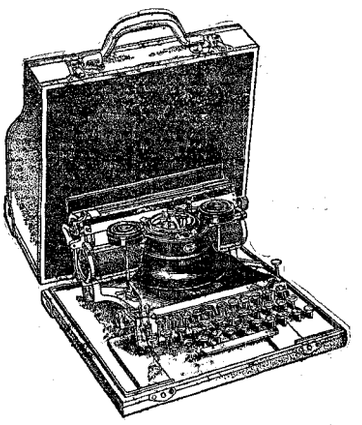
Also courses in Photoplay Writing, Versification and Poetics, Journalism. In all over One Hundred Courses, under professors in Harvard, Brown, Cornell, and other leading colleges.

156-Page Catalogue Free. Please Address

THE HOME CORRESPONDENCE SCHOOL

Dept. 27, Springfield, Mass.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



New!

It's Portable

The only lightweight typewriter with the full capacity of the large commercial models.

This new ALUMINUM Multiplex Hammond is the one PRACTICAL personal typewriter.

For Those Who Travel

BUSINESS EXECUTIVES
CLERGYMEN
TEACHERS
DOCTORS
LAWYERS
AUTHORS, etc.

Does exactly the same work as the regular, large model.

"Everybody's Typewriter"

MULTIPLEX HAMMOND

Many Typewriters in One—Type Changed Instantly

This entire advertisement, (with the exception of the hand-drawn lettering) was reproduced directfrom copy typed on this new, light weight model.

Note the various styles of type. These changes were made instantly.

Let Us Write You A Specimen Letter on

the new, PORTABLE Multiplex Hammond. Send coupon below and we will write you a special letter in any style type you may choose, or in any language.

Mail the coupon NOW

.....

THE HAMMOND TYPEWRITER CO.
550 East 69th St. at East River.
NEW YORK CITY

Please send catalog and write me a special letter in ..... type.

Name .....

Address .....

Occupation .....
.....

suffering and vice. He trembled on the brink of pessimism. He sought escape at first by way of artistic contemplation, next by way of dispassionate knowledge. He achieved salvation at last through the dream of a better future, the outlines of which he sought to draw in the superman, and for the realization of which he lived and worked so long as reason lasted in his frail body.

R. F. A. H.

Contributors

to this Issue

WILLIAM HARD—Writer on public affairs now investigating problems of organization in Washington for the NEW REPUBLIC.

JOHN DEWEY—Professor of philosophy at Columbia University. Author of Democracy and Education, and other books on education and metaphysics.

SIDNEY WEBB—The Fabian socialist and sociologist. Principal founder of the London School of Economics and Political Science.

FOR THE BOOK LOVER

RARE BOOKS—FIRST EDITIONS. BOOKS NOW OUT OF PRINT

Latest Catalogue Sent on Request

C. GERHARDT, 25 West 42nd Street, New York

"Ought to be read by all who are bigoted on the subject of the war. It will do them good. It is a free book, written with sense, courage, and humor."
—*Chicago Tribune*

THE FINDING OF NORAH

By

Eugenia B. Frothingham

The story of a girl and two men, one a conservative Republican, the other a staunch upholder of Wilson; and of the reaction of politics upon the course of love.

"The novel has a further importance in its shrewd and vivid portrayal of the moods of Boston in the early days of 1917. Miss Frothingham has made her study of the period very concrete."—*Boston Transcript.*

At all Bookstores 75 cents net

Houghton Mifflin Company

Boston and New York

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The New
REPUBLIC
A Journal of Opinion

VOL. XIV
NO. 177

PART TWO

MARCH
23, 1918

Labor War Aims

Full text of the agreement on war aims just adopted by the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference in London

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOREWORD

THE following statement of war aims or peace conditions which was formulated by the Inter-Allied Labor Conference in London is reprinted from the London Times of February 25th last. It differs from similar statements which have preceded it in one important respect. All the factions in the pro-war labor and socialist parties in the Western European democracies endorse it. They had been unable to reach any such complete agreement at their previous conferences and their new unanimity has given to their programme a vastly increased weight. When the Stockholm Conference was proposed last summer the socialist and labor parties were embarrassed by internal divisions. Now they are united, and if they are joined, as they hope to be, by the American labor organizations, they should be powerful enough to secure from their governments consent to the gathering of the proposed inter-belligerent conference. Just as the labor and socialist parties of the western Allies have succeeded, where their governments have failed, in reaching a common statement of war aims, so the labor and socialist parties of the whole world may reach a similar agreement in spite of the chasm which still divides the belligerent governments. If they can, its effect is certain to be important and may be decisive. As Mr. Arthur Henderson has recently declared: "Peace will come when the working class movement has discovered by interchange of views the conditions of an honorable and democratic peace, worthy of the unimaginable sacrifices the people have made, and has pressed these terms upon the several governments with the resolute declaration that peace must be made on these terms and no other."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Inter-Allied Labor War Aims

THE following is the full text of the "Memorandum on War Aims" adopted by the Inter-Allied Labor and Socialist Conference in London:

The War

I.—The Inter-Allied Conference declares that whatever may have been the causes of the outbreak of war it is clear that the peoples of Europe, who are necessarily the chief sufferers from its horrors, had themselves no hand in it. Their common interest is now so to conduct the terrible struggle in which they find themselves engaged as to bring it, as soon as may be possible, to an issue in a secure and lasting peace for the world.

The Conference sees no reason to depart from the following declaration unanimously agreed to at the Conference of the Socialist and Labor Parties of the Allied Nations on February 14, 1915:

"This Conference cannot ignore the profound general causes of the European conflict, itself a monstrous product of the antagonisms which tear asunder capitalist society and of the policy of colonial dependencies and aggressive imperialism, against which International Socialism has never ceased to fight, and in which every government has its share of responsibility.

"The invasion of Belgium and France by the German armies threatens the very existence of independent nationalities and strikes a blow at all faith in treaties. In these circumstances a victory for German imperialism would be the defeat and the destruction of democracy and liberty in Europe. The Socialists of Great Britain, Belgium, France and Russia do not pursue the political and economic crushing of Germany; they are not at war with the peoples of Germany and Austria, but only with the governments of those countries by which they are oppressed. They demand that Belgium shall be liberated and compensated. They desire that the question of Poland shall be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Polish people, either in the sense of autonomy in the midst of another state, or in that of complete independence. They wish that throughout all Europe, from Alsace-Lorraine to the Balkans, those populations that have been annexed by force shall receive the right freely to dispose of themselves.

"While inflexibly resolved to fight until victory is achieved to accomplish this task of liberation, the Socialists are none the less resolved to resist any attempt to transform this defensive war into a war of conquest, which would only prepare fresh conflicts, create new grievances and subject various peoples more than ever to the double plague of armaments and war.

"Satisfied that they are remaining true to the principles of the International, the members of the Conference express the hope that the working classes of all the different countries will before long find themselves united again in their struggle against militarism and capitalist imperialism. The victory of the Allied Powers must be a victory for popular liberty, for unity, independence and autonomy of the nations in the peaceful federation of the United States of Europe and the world."

Making the World Safe for Democracy

II.—Whatever may have been the objects for which the war was begun the fundamental purpose of the Inter-Allied Conference in supporting the continuance of the struggle is that the world may henceforth be made safe for democracy.

Of all the conditions of peace none is so important to the peoples of the world as that there should be henceforth on earth no more war.

Whoever triumphs, the peoples will have lost unless an international system is established which will prevent war. What would it mean to declare the right of peoples to self-determination if this right were left at the mercy of new violations, and was not protected by a super-national authority? That authority can be no other than the League of Nations, in which not only all the present belligerents, but every other independent state, should be pressed to join.

The constitution of such a League of Nations implies the immediate establishment of an International High Court, not only for the settlement of all disputes between states that are of justiciable nature, but also for prompt and effective mediation between states in other issues that vitally interest the power or honor of such states. It is also under the control of the League of Nations that the consultation of peoples for purposes of self-determination must be organized. This popular right can be vindicated only by popular vote. The League of Nations shall establish the procedure of international jurisdiction, fix the methods which will maintain the freedom and security of the election, restore the political rights of individuals which violence and conquest may have injured, repress any attempt to use pressure or corruption, and prevent any subsequent reprisals. It will be also necessary to form an International Legislature, in which the representatives of every civilized state would have their al-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lotted share and energetically to push forward, step by step, the development of international legislation agreed to by, and definitely binding upon, the several states.

By a solemn agreement all the states and peoples consulted shall pledge themselves to submit every issue between two or more of them for settlement as aforesaid. Refusal to accept arbitration or to submit to the settlement will imply deliberate aggression, and all the nations will necessarily have to make common cause, by using any and every means at their disposal, either economical or military, against any state or states refusing to submit to the arbitration award, or attempting to break the world's covenant of peace.

But the sincere acceptance of the rules and decisions of the super-national authority implies complete democratization in all countries; the removal of all the arbitrary powers who, until now, have assumed the right of choosing between peace and war; the maintenance or creation of legislatures elected by and on behalf of the sovereign right of the people; the suppression of secret diplomacy, to be replaced by the conduct of foreign policy under the control of popular legislatures, and the publication of all treaties, which must never be in contravention of the stipulation of the League of Nations, with the absolute responsibility of the government, and more particularly of the foreign minister of each country to its legislature.

Only such a policy will enforce the frank abandonment of every form of imperialism. When based on universal democracy, in a world in which effective international guarantees against aggression have been secured, the League of Nations will achieve the complete suppression of force as the means of settling international differences.

The League of Nations, in order to prepare for the concerted abolition of compulsory military service in all countries, must first take steps for the prohibition of fresh armaments on land and sea and for the common limitation of the existing armaments by which all the peoples are burdened; as well as the control of war manufactures and the enforcement of such agreements as may be agreed to thereupon. The states must undertake such manufactures themselves, so as entirely to abolish profit-making armament firms, whose pecuniary interest lies always in the war scares and progressive competition in the preparation for war.

The nations, being armed solely for self-defense and for such action as the League of Nations may ask them to take in defense of international right, will be left free, under international control either to create a voluntarily recruited force or to organize the nation for defense without professional armies for long terms of military service.

To give effect to the above principles, the Inter-Allied Conference declares that the rules upon which the League of Nations will be founded must be included in the treaty of peace, and will henceforth become the basis of the settlement of differences. In that spirit the Conference expresses its agreement with the propositions put forward by President Wilson in his last message:

(1) That each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case, and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent.

(2) That peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game now forever discredited of the balance of power; but that

(3) Every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustments of compromise of claims amongst rival states.

(4) That all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe, and, consequently, of the world.

Territorial Questions

III.—The Inter-Allied Conference considers that the proclamation of principles of international law accepted by all nations, and the substitution of a regular procedure for the forceful acts by which states calling themselves sovereign have hitherto adjusted their differences—in short, the establishment of a League of Nations—gives an entirely new aspect to territorial problems.

The old diplomacy and the yearnings after domination by states, or even by peoples, which during the whole of the nineteenth century have taken advantage of and corrupted the aspirations of nationalities, have brought Europe to a condition of anarchy and disorder which have led inevitably to the present catastrophe.

The Conference declares it to be the duty of the Labor and Socialist movement to suppress without hesitation the imperialist designs in the various states which have led one government after another to seek, by the triumph of military force, to acquire either new territories or economic advantage.

The establishment of a system of international law and the guarantees afforded by a League of Nations, ought to remove the last excuse for those strategic protections which nations have hitherto felt bound to require.

It is the supreme principle of the right of each

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people to determine its own destiny that must now decide what steps should be taken by way of restitution or reparation, and whatever territorial readjustments may be found to be necessary at the close of the present war.

The Conference accordingly emphasizes the importance to the labor and Socialist movement of a clear and exact definition of what is meant by the right of each people to determine its own destiny. Neither destiny of race nor identity of language can be regarded as affording more than a presumption in favor of federation or unification. During the nineteenth century the theories of this kind have so often served as a cloak for aggression that the International cannot but seek to prevent any recurrence of such an evil. Any adjustments of boundaries that become necessary must be based exclusively upon the desire of the people concerned.

It is true that it is impossible for the necessary consultation of the desires of the people concerned to be made in any fixed and invariable way for all the cases in which it is required, and that the problems of nationality and territory are not the same for the inhabitants of all countries. Nevertheless, what is necessary in all cases is that the procedure to be adopted should be decided, not by one of the parties to the dispute, but by the super-national authority.

Upon the basis of the general principles herein formulated the Conference proposes the following solutions of particular problems:

(a) Belgium

The Conference emphatically insists that a foremost condition of peace must be the reparation by the German government, under the direction of an International Commission, of the wrong admittedly done to Belgium; payment by that government for all the damage that has resulted from this wrong; and the restoration of Belgium as an independent sovereign state, leaving to the decision of the Belgian people the determination of their own future policy in all respects.

(b) Alsace and Lorraine

The Conference declares that the problem of Alsace and Lorraine is not one of territorial adjustment, but one of right, and thus an international problem, the solution of which is indispensable if peace is to be either just or lasting.

The Treaty of Frankfort at one and the same time mutilated France and violated the right of the inhabitants of Alsace and Lorraine to dispose of their own destinies, a right which they have repeatedly claimed.

The new treaty of peace, in recognizing that Germany, by her declaration of war of 1914, has herself broken the Treaty of Frankfort, will make null and void the gains of a brutal conquest and of the violence committed against the people.

France, having secured this recognition, can properly agree to a fresh consultation of the population of Alsace and Lorraine as to its own desires.

The treaty of peace will bear the signatures of every nation in the world. It will be guaranteed by the League of Nations. To this League of Nations France is prepared to remit, with the freedom and sincerity of a popular vote, of which the details can be subsequently settled, the organization of such a consultation as shall settle forever, as a matter of right, the future destiny of Alsace and Lorraine, and as shall finally remove from the common life of all Europe a quarrel which has imposed so heavy a burden upon it.

(c) The Balkans

The Conference lays down the principle that all the violations and perversions of the rights of the people which have taken place, or are still taking place, in the Balkans must be made the subject of redress or reparation.

Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, Albania and all the territories occupied by military forces should be evacuated by the hostile forces. Wherever any population of the same race and tongue demands to be united this must be done. Each such people must be accorded full liberty to settle its own destiny, without regard to the imperialistic pretensions of Austria, Hungary, Turkey or other state.

Accepting this principle, the Conference proposes that the whole problem of the administrative reorganization of the Balkan peoples should be dealt with by a special conference of their representatives or in case of disagreement by an authoritative international commission on the basis of (*a*) the concession within each independent sovereignty of local autonomy and security for the development of its particular civilization of every racial minority; (*b*) the universal guarantee of freedom or religion and political equality for all races; (*c*) a Customs and Postal Union embracing the whole of the Balkan states with free access for each to its natural seaport; (*d*) the entry of all the Balkan states into a federation for the concerted arrangement by mutual agreement among themselves of all matters of common interest.

(d) Italy

The conference declares its warmest sympathy with the people of Italian blood and speech who have been left outside the boundaries that have, as a result of the diplomatic agreements of the past, and for strategic reasons, been assigned to the Kingdom of Italy, and supports their claim to be united with those of their own race and tongue. It realizes that arrangements may be necessary for securing the legitimate interests of the people of Italy in the adjacent seas, but it condemns the aims of conquest of Italian Imperialism and believes that all legitimate needs can be safeguarded, without precluding a like recognition of the deeds of others or annexation of other people's territories.

Regarding the Italian population dispersed on the eastern shores of the Adriatic, the relations between Italy and the Yugo-Slav populations must be based on principles of equity and conciliation, so as to prevent any cause of future quarrel.

If there are found to be groups of Slavonian race within the newly defined Kingdom of Italy or groups of Italian race in Slavonian territory, mutual guarantees must be given for the assurance of all of them, on one side or the other, full liberty of local self-government and of the natural development of their several activities.

(e) Poland and the Baltic Provinces

In accordance with the right of every people to determine its own destinies, Poland must be reconstituted in unity and independence with free access to the sea.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Conference declares further, that any annexation by Germany, whether open or disguised, of Livonia, Courland or Lithuania would be a flagrant and wholly inadmissible violation of international law.

(f) The Jews and Palestine

The Conference demands for the Jews in all countries the same elementary rights of freedom of religion, education, residence and trade and equal citizenship that ought to be extended to all the inhabitants of every nation. It further expresses the opinion that Palestine should be set free from the hard and oppressive government of the Turk, in order that this country may form a Free State, under international guarantee, to which such of the Jewish people as desire to do so may return and may work out their own salvation free from interference by those of alien race or religion.

(g) The Problem of the Turkish Empire

The Conference condemns the handing back to the systematically cruel domination of the Turkish government any subject people. Thus, whatever may be proposed with regard to Armenia, Mesopotamia and Arabia, they cannot be restored to the tyranny of the Sultan and his Pashas. The Conference condemns the imperialist aims of governments and capitalists who would make of these and other territories now dominated by the Turkish hordes merely instruments either of exploitation or militarism. If the peoples of these territories do not feel themselves able to settle their own destinies, the Conference insists that, conformably with the policy of "no annexations," they should be placed for administration in the hands of a Commission acting under the Super-National Authority or League of Nations. It is further suggested that the peace of the world requires that the Dardanelles should be permanently and effectively neutralized and opened like all the main lines of marine communication, under the control of the League of Nations, freely to all nations, without hindrance or customs duties.

(h) Austria-Hungary

The Conference does not propose as a war aim dismemberment of Austria-Hungary or its deprivation of economic access to the sea. On the other hand, the Conference cannot admit that the claims to independence made by the Czecho-Slovaks and the Yugo-Slavs must be regarded merely as questions for internal decision. National independence ought to be accorded, according to rules to be laid down by the League of Nations, to such peoples as demand it, and these communities ought to have the opportunity of determining their own groupings and federations according to their affinities and interests. If they think fit they are free to substitute a free federation of Danubian states for the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

(i) The Colonies and Dependencies

The International has always condemned the colonial policy of capitalist governments. Without ceasing to condemn it, the Inter-Allied Conference nevertheless recognizes the existence of a state of things which it is obliged to take into account.

The Conference considers that the treaty of peace ought to secure to the natives in all colonies and dependencies effective protection against the excesses of capitalist colonialism. The Conference demands the concession of administrative autonomy for all groups of people that attain a certain degree of civilization, and for all the others a progressive participation in local government.

The Conference is of opinion that the return of the colonies to those who possessed them before the war, or the exchange or compensations which might be effected, ought not to be an obstacle to the making of peace.

Those colonies that have been taken by conquest from any belligerent must be made the subject of special consideration at the Peace Conference, as to which the communities in their neighborhood will be entitled to take part. But the clause in the treaty of peace on this point must secure economic equality in such territories for the peoples of all nations, and thereby guarantee that none are shut out from legitimate access to raw materials; prevented from disposing of their own products, or deprived of their proper share of economic development.

As regards more especially the colonies of all the belligerents in Tropical Africa, from sea to sea, including the whole of the region north of the Zambesi and south of the Sahara, the Conference condemns any imperialist idea which would make these countries the booty of one or several nations, exploit them for the profit of the capitalist or use them for the promotion of the militarist aims of the governments.

With respect to these colonies the Conference declares in favor of a system of control, established by international agreement, under the League of Nations and maintained by its guarantee, which, whilst respecting national sovereignty, would be alike inspired by broad conceptions of economic freedom and concerned to safeguard the rights of the natives under the best conditions possible for them, and in particular:

(1) It would take account in each locality of the wishes of the people, expressed in the form which is possible for them.

(2) The interests of the native tribes as regards the ownership of the soil would be maintained.

(3) The whole of the revenues would be devoted to the well-being and development of the colonies themselves.

Economic Relations

IV. The Inter-Allied Conference declares against all the projects now being prepared by imperialists and capitalists, not in any one country only, but in most countries, for an economic war, after peace has been secured, either against one or other foreign nation or against all foreign nations, as such an economic war, if begun by any country, would inevitably lead to reprisals, to which each nation in turn might in self-defense be driven. The main lines of marine communication should be open without hindrance to vessels of all nations under the protection of the League of Nations. The Conference realizes that all attempts at economic aggression, whether by protective tariffs or capitalist trusts or monopolies. inevitably result in the spoliation of the working classes of the several countries for the profit of the capitalists; and the working class see in the alliance between the military imperialists and the fiscal protectionists in any country whatsoever not only a serious danger to the prosperity of the masses of the people, but also a grave menace

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

to peace. On the other hand, the right of each nation to the defense of its own economic interests, and in face of the world-shortage hereinafter mentioned, to the conservation for its own people of a sufficiency of its own supplies of foodstuffs and raw materials, cannot be denied. The Conference accordingly urges upon the labor and Socialist parties of all countries the importance of insisting, in the attitude of the government towards commercial enterprise, along with the necessary control of supplies for its own people, on the principle of the open door, and without hostile discrimination against foreign countries. But it urges equally the importance, not merely of conservation, but also of the utmost possible development, by appropriate government action, of the resources of every country for the benefit not only of its own people, but also of the world, and the need for an international agreement for the enforcement in all countries of the legislation on factory conditions, a maximum eight-hour day, the prevention of "sweating" and unhealthy trades necessary to protect the workers against exploitation and oppression, and the prohibition of night work by women and children.

The Problems of Peace

V. To make the world safe for democracy involves much more than the prevention of war, either military or economic. It will be a device of the capitalist interests to pretend that the treaty of peace need concern itself only with the cessation of the struggles of the armed forces and with any necessary territorial readjustments. The Inter-Allied Conference insists that in view of the probable world-wide shortage, after the war, of exportable foodstuffs and raw materials, and of merchant shipping, it is imperative, in order to prevent the most serious hardships, and even possible famine, in one country or another, that systematic arrangements should be made on an international basis for the allocation and conveyance of the available exportable surpluses of these commodities to the different countries, in proportion, not to their purchasing powers, but to their several pressing needs; and that, within each country, the government must for some time maintain its control of the most indispensable commodities, in order to secure their appropriation, not in a competitive market mainly to the richer classes in proportion to their means, but, systematically, to meet the most urgent needs of the whole community on the principle of "no cake for anyone until all have bread."

Moreover, it cannot but be anticipated that, in all countries, the dislocation of industry attendant on peace, the instant discharge of millions of munition makers and workers in war trades, and the demobilization of millions of soldiers—in face of the scarcity of industrial capital, the shortage of raw materials, and the insecurity of commercial enterprise—will, unless prompt and energetic action be taken by the several governments, plunge a large part of the wage-earning population into all the miseries of unemployment more or less prolonged. In view of the fact that widespread unemployment in any country, like a famine, is an injury not to that country alone, but impoverishes also the rest of the world, the Conference holds that it is the duty of every government to take immediate action, not merely to relieve the unemployed, when unemployment has set in, but actually, so far as may be practicable, to prevent the occurrence of unemployment. It therefore urges upon the labor parties of every country the necessity of their pressing upon their governments the preparation of plans for the execution of all the innumerable public works (such as the making and repairing of roads, railways and waterways, the erection of schools and public buildings, the provision of working-class dwellings and the reclamation and afforestation of land) that will be required in the near future, not for the sake of finding measures of relief for the unemployed, but with a view to these works being undertaken at such a rate in each locality as will suffice, together with the various capitalist enterprises that may be in progress, to maintain at a fairly uniform level year by year, and throughout each year, the aggregate demand for labor; and thus prevent there being any unemployed. It is now known that in this way it is quite possible for any government to prevent, if it chooses, the occurrence of any widespread or prolonged involuntary unemployment; which if it is now in any country allowed to occur, is as much the result of government neglect as is any epidemic disease.

Restoration of the Devastated Areas and Reparation of Wrongdoing

VI. The Inter-Allied Conference holds that one of the most imperative duties of all countries immediately peace is declared will be the restoration, so far as may be possible, of the homes, farms, factories, public buildings and means of communication whatever destroyed by war operations; that the restoration should not be limited to compensation for public buildings, capitalist undertakings and material property proved to be destroyed or damaged, but should be extended to setting up the wage-earners and peasants themselves in homes and employment; and that to insure the full and impartial application of these principles the assessment and distribution of the compensation, so far as the cost is contributed by any international fund, should be made under the direction of an international Commission.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Conference will not be satisfied unless there is a full and free judicial investigation into the accusations made on all sides that particular governments have ordered, and particular officers have exercised, acts of cruelty, oppression, violence and theft against invididual victims, for which no justification can be found in the ordinary usages of war. It draws attention in particular to the loss of life and property of merchant seamen and other non-combatants (including women and children) resulting from this inhuman and ruthless conduct. It should be part of the conditions of peace that there should be forthwith set up a Court of Claims and Accusations, which should investigate all such allegations as may be brought before it, summon the accused person or government to answer the complaint, to pronounce judgment, and award compensation or damages, payable by the individual or government condemned, to the persons who had suffered wrong, or to their dependents. The several governments must be responsible, financially and otherwise, for the presentation of the cases of their respective nationals to such a Court of Claims and Accusations, and for the payment of the compensation awarded.

International Conference

VII. The Inter-Allied Conference is of opinion that an International Conference of Labor and Socialist organizations, held under proper conditions, would at this stage render useful service to world democracy by assisting to remove misunderstandings, as well as the obstacles which stand in the way of world peace.

Awaiting the resumption of the normal activities of the International Socialist Bureau, we consider that an International Conference, held during the period of hostilities, should be organized by a committee whose impartiality cannot be questioned. It should be held in a neutral country, under such conditions as would inspire confidence; and the Conference should be fully representative of all the labor and Socialist movement in all the belligerent countries accepting the conditions under which the Conference is convoked.

As an essential condition to an International Conference the Commission is of opinion that the organizers of the Conference should satisfy themselves that all the organizations to be represented put in precise form, by a public declaration, their peace terms in conformity with the principles "no annexations or punitive indemnities, and the right of all peoples to self-determination," and that they are working with all their power to obtain from their governments the necessary guarantees to apply those principles honestly and unreservedly to all questions to be dealt with at any official peace conference.

In view of the vital differences between the Allied countries and the Central Powers, the Commission is of opinion that it is highly advisable that the Conference should be used to provide an opportunity for the delegates from the respective countries now in a state of war to make a full and frank statement of their present position and future intentions, and to endeavor by mutual agreement to arrange a programme of action for a speedy and democratic peace.

The Conference is of opinion that the working classes, having made such sacrifices during the war, are entitled to take part in securing a democratic world peace, and that M. Albert Thomas (France), M. Emile Vandervelde (Belgium) and Mr. Arthur Henderson (Great Britain) be appointed as a commission to secure from all the governments a promise that at least one representative of Labor and Socialism will be included in the official representation at any government conference, and to organize a Labor and Socialist representation to sit concurrently with the official conference; further, that no country be entitled to more than four representatives at such conference.

The Conference regrets the absence of representatives of American labor and Socialism from the Inter-Allied Conference, and urges the importance of securing their approval of the decisions reached. With this object in view, the Conference agrees that a deputation, consisting of one representative from France, Belgium, Italy and Great Britain, together with Camille Huysmans (Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau), proceed to the United States at once, in order to confer with representatives of the American democracy on the whole situation of the war.

The Conference resolves to transmit to the Socialists of the Central Empires and of the nations allied with them the memorandum in which the Conference has defined the conditions of peace, conformably with the principles of Socialist and international justice. The Conference is convinced that these conditions will commend themselves on reflection to the mind of every Socialist, and the Conference asks for the answer of the Socialists of the Central Empires, in the hope that these will join without delay in a joint effort of the International, which has now become more than ever the best and the most certain instrument of democracy and peace.

[THE END]

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED